The
CHRISTIAN CENTURY
Published Weekly

America's Educational Retreat

By Jerome Davis

Spain's Useful Reminder

By Roy Temple House

Why Is Anti-Semitism?

An Editorial

Let Labor Look at Land!

By Louis Wallis

JULY

SURVEY of BOOKS

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(Continued in 3rd Col.)

The CHRISTIAN CENTURY

July 7, 1937

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Calendar of Coming Events

June 14-July 9. Ministers Institute, Atlanta University Summer School, Atlanta, Ga.
June 20-July 17. Sierra Seminar, Salmon Lake, Calif.
June 26-July 10. Unitarian Young People's Religious Union, Isle of Shoals, Mass.
June 28-Aug. 7. Summer School of the Drama, Winona Lake, Ind.
June 29-July 9. New England Institute of International Relations, Wellesley College, Wellesley, Mass.
June 29-July 9. Whittier Institute of International Relations, Mills College, Whittier, Calif.
July 1-11. Y.M.C.A. Employed Officers Conference, Seabeck, Wash.
July 2-5. Fouth American Youth Congress, Milwaukee, Wis.
July 3-14. Undenominational, nonsectarian Summer School of the Amateur Theatre, Morrisville, Vt.
July 4-10. Evangelical and Reformed Leadership Training Conference, Hanover College, Hanover, Ind.
July 4-11. Methodist Episcopal Older Young People's Institute, Camp Byron, Wis.
July 5-10. Baptist Junior Girls' Camp, Burton, Wash.
July 5-15. Pacific Northwest Institute of International Relations, Reed College, Portland, Ore.
July 5-17. School of Methods, Rumney, N. H.
July 5-24. Institute of Race Relations, Cheyney State Teachers College, Cheyney, Pa.
July 7-Aug. 11. School of Theology, Winona Lake, Ind.
July 7-11. Youth's Temperance Council Encampment, Pacific Palisades, Calif.
July 7-15. Interdenominational Missionary Conference, Northfield, Mass.
July 9-11. Youth's Temperance Council Encampment, Cornell Campus, Mt. Vernon, Ia.
July 9-24. Northern New York Summer School, Oak Point, N. Y.
July 10-17. Unitarian Religious Education Institute, Isle of Shoals, Mass.
July 11-17. Methodist Episcopal Youth Camp, Camp Byron, Wis.
July 12-17. Youth's Temperance Council Encampment, Kavanaugh Camp, Ky.
July 12-18. Epworth League Institute, Riverdale, Ind.
July 12-18. Baptist Young People's Assembly, Burton, Wash.
July 12-18. Christian Action Week, Chautauqua, O.
July 12-19. Presbyterian Young People's Conference, Seabeck, Wash.
July 12-26. World Conference on Church, State and Society, Oxford, England.
July 13-18. Methodist Episcopal Church, South, Pastors' Conference, Lake Junaluska, N. C.
July 17-24. Interdenominational American Sunday School Union,

In This Issue

(Continued from 1st Col.)

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The
CHRISTIAN CENTURY
Undenominational

VOLUME LIV CHICAGO, JULY 7, 1937 NUMBER 27

EDITORIAL

BECAUSE of the strained attention with which the nation is watching congressional investigation of phases of the steel strike and the maneuvering with regard to the Supreme Court bill, there is danger lest the progress being made in Congress by other important legislation may be overlooked. But last week in a single day the judiciary committee of the Senate reached two important decisions. By a unanimous vote it asked the Senate to send to the states a new amendment to the Constitution, framed by Senator Vandenberg, which would prohibit child labor. The new amendment differs from the one which has unsuccessfully sought adoption by applying only to children employed "for hire," by saying nothing about giving Congress the right to "regulate" the labor of children, and by fixing the age limit within which Congress might act at 16 instead of 18. As these have been the three points on which the long-pending amendment has been attacked, there would seem to be every reason to hope that an amendment framed in this altered fashion might soon gain the ratification of the necessary thirty-six states. The other act of the committee was to recommend to the Senate, by a vote of 13 to 3, passage of the Wagner anti-lynching bill. As the house has already passed the Gavagan bill, of similar nature, it now looks as though nothing but a filibuster by southern senators could block enactment of a federal measure to deal with this horrible crime.

Child Labor and Lynching Legislation Advance

Mr. Hearst Suffers A Setback

THE mortality rate of daily papers in the United States has been high for several years past. But if the journalistic field had been searched from center to circumference it would have been hard to find a paper whose death could impart a shock equal to that administered to newspaper workers last week when the New York *American* suspended publication. For the *American* was a Hearst newspaper. It was not only a Hearst newspaper; it was the Hearst morning newspaper in the metropolis. And it was the paper with which Mr. Hearst rode to fame and fortune forty-two years ago when he left San Francisco to become a national figure. It was in 1895 that Mr. Hearst bought what was then the New York *Morning Journal* as a means of invading the metropolitan field and fighting Joseph Pulitzer's *World* for the leadership of the popular press. During the Spanish-American war Mr. Hearst performed in the *Morning Journal,* and in the *Evening Journal* which he founded in 1896, feats of sensational journalism which have never been equaled in all the history of the yellow press. In 1902 it became expedient to change the paper's name to the *American,* after an inflamed public had charged that certain unbridled editorial attacks by the *Journal* on President McKinley had been a contributing factor to the President's assassination. The *American* had long been rumored to be in the red, but so deeply was the Hearst prestige involved in its fortunes that newspapermen had not dreamed that its owner would allow it to perish. Now that the death sentence has been inflicted, the newspaper world speculates as to Mr. Hearst's financial position. Can Midas be hard up? Whatever the financial facts, as a publisher Mr. Hearst has indubitably suffered what to him must be an ignominious defeat. The *American* long carried a slogan which proclaimed it "a paper for people who think." Apparently, they thought too much.

Britain's New Premier Warns Hitler

ONCE MORE it is necessary to open an editorial on the European situation by admitting that we do not know what is happening behind the scenes on the other side of the Atlantic. Neither, for that matter, does anybody else in this country, unless it be Mr. Roosevelt and Mr. Hull. And of the completeness of their knowledge we are none too certain. But one thing is sure. Responsible heads of great governments do not speak as Mr. Chamberlain spoke in the House of Commons last week unless the situation is very grave indeed. There were two main points in the speech of the new prime minister, and it would be hard to tell which one of them was susceptible of the more disquieting interpretation. The first was the by-now-famous

"avalanche" appeal: "I have read that in high mountains there are sometimes conditions to be found when an incautious move or even a sudden loud exclamation may start an avalanche. That is just the condition in which we are finding ourselves today. I believe that although the snow may be perilously poised it has not yet begun to move." But the other vital sentence spoken by Mr. Chamberlain consisted of a blunt threat that "if some country or government attempted to intervene beyond a certain point [in Spain], then some other country taking an opposite view would find it difficult if not impossible to keep from joining, and a conflict may be started of which no man can see the end." This evidence that the new Tory government in England has already lost confidence in Hitler's reassurances and has a "point" beyond which it will not permit the fascists to go in their Spanish adventure, produced an immediate effect. For although Hitler continued to bluster, in a speech delivered in Bavaria on the following Sunday, that the reich would henceforth go it alone in Spain, German threats of a naval demonstration against Valencia have been dropped. Prospects are favorable that the synthetic crisis manufactured out of the alleged attack on the cruiser *Leipzig* will pass without further trouble. Meanwhile, one incident widely reported deserves to be cleared up. When Ambassador Dodd discussed this latest crisis with German officials, did he or did he not deliver a "warning" from the United States? The state department says that he did not. A large part of the European press says that he did. Whatever he did, it was important enough for the American public to have a right to know all about it.

Steel Turns Back to the Hard-Boiled Days

ALTHOUGH the leaders of the C.I.O. naturally declare that their strike to organize the four companies in "little steel" is unbroken, and will be carried on to eventual victory, it now looks very much as though this particular strike is going to be lost. Unless press reports are utterly unreliable, steel workers are apparently returning to work in sufficiently large numbers in Youngstown, Johnstown, Warren and other eastern strike centers for the mills to be producing their normal output within a short period. Disintegration of the strike in the Chicago area seems likely to come with equal swiftness. After all attempts at mediation by state authorities had failed, the attempt of the federal government, made through the special mediation board headed by Charles P. Taft, 2nd, likewise failed. Almost the only recourse which the S.W.O.C. forces now have is an appeal to the National Labor Relations Board, and any action which that body might take would involve such long subsequent court review that the prospect of holding the strike together until a legal verdict could be rendered would be practically hopeless. For that large section of the press and public which has come to see in the strike something akin to an attempt at a communist revolution, this outcome will bring rejoicing. But the celebration which the steel companies' impending victory may bring will be premature. "Little steel," under the leadership of Mr. Girdler and the steel masters who think like him, stands for hard-boiled industrial reaction. When the issue of the strike came to a showdown, with the appointment of the Taft board, Mr. Girdler let it be known that the sort of steel management he represents would not only make no agreements, oral or written, with the union, but that they would refuse so much as to sit in the same room and discuss the matter with the striking workers. This on the ground that the union was "irresponsible"—with Mr. Girdler the judge of responsibility! Mr. Girdler and his group seem about to emerge from this strike the dominant figures in the entire steel world. They have succeeded in forcing a return to Judge Gary feudalism in one of the nation's basic industries. But feudalism is doomed, by the calendar if by nothing else. And what is happening now as the hard-boiled labor policy wins in the plants of "little steel" is that the field is being prepared for bigger and bloodier battles later on. A decade hence, when it will be too late, today's celebrants will know that "big steel" was wise.

Ministers Make Vain Appeal To Steel Companies

ONE INCIDENT of the steel strike to which the press gave little attention was the publication on June 24 of an appeal from more than one hundred clergymen of many denominations for a settlement. This document said: "For many years official pronouncements of church organizations of all faiths have declared for the right of both employers and employees to organize and bargain collectively. Inasmuch as officials of the steel corporations principally involved in the present strike have publicly declared their willingness to bargain collectively, we can see no valid reason why these corporations cannot at once, with honor and security, sign agreements with the Steel Workers Organizing Committee as an evidence of good faith by both sides. Such action has already been taken by over 140 other steel companies representing a substantial majority of the entire industry. . . . The unions in a position of leadership in the Committee for Industrial Organization . . . have earned over a period of years a reputation for fair dealing and for keeping their contracts. . . . We urge immediate resumption of negotiations looking toward signed agreements to the end that industrial peace may be restored, lives and property protected, and our American principle of democracy incorporated in the industrial relations in the whole of this great industry." While this appeal was issued by individuals, and not by denominations or other official church bodies, it is literally true that its list of signers reads like the roster of the Protestant and Jewish leadership of the United States. A few Catholic leaders, such as Monsignor John A. Ryan of Washington, also signed. But the appeal evidently made no more impression on the steel companies than did the appeal made by churchmen in the steel strike of 1919.

Mr. Hopkins Faces a Difficult Task

CONGRESS is putting the finishing touches on a relief appropriation bill which will provide a billion and a half for another year's continuation of the WPA. The bill, as it is about to be passed, puts on Mr. Harry Hopkins and his subordinates one of the most difficult tasks of an ad-

ministrative nature ever to be placed on government officials. Strictly speaking, it does not provide even the full billion and a half for relief, for about a tenth of the total is already earmarked for agencies other than the WPA. That leaves Mr. Hopkins with only $1,350,000,000—and that granted only after a stiff fight in the Senate in which such administration wheelhorses as Senator Robinson and Senator Harrison fought the request of the President. In other words, the appropriation has gone through Congress by such a narrow margin that Mr. Hopkins knows he hasn't much chance of being able to go back for additional grants later on. He must make his relief program fit his $1,350,000,000. That, in terms of past WPA experience, means that he can take care of approximately 1,687,500 persons. It is believed that the number on WPA payrolls at the middle of the present month will be about 1,665,477. This is inside the new WPA budget, to be sure, but it is also at the peak of the seasonal occupation period. Relief demands are almost certain to mount rapidly when cold weather returns. Moreover, there is always the chance that further rises in the cost of living will throw out of balance the WPA estimate of $800 per year per worker. The margin within which the federal relief administration must operate is a terribly narrow one. At the same time, the demands which the administration must meet are not to be ignored. These are, in the main, three. First, there is the demand of taxpayers that the costs of relief be reduced. Second, there is the demand from states and cities that none of the costs be passed along to them. Third, there is the demand from the otherwise unemployed that they be saved from social slaughter. We do not envy Mr. Hopkins his next twelve months.

Liberal Churches to Hold World Conference

THE approaching ecumenical conferences at Oxford and Edinburgh are not the only world gatherings of Christians to meet this summer. During September Swarthmore, Pennsylvania, is to provide the setting for the world conference of the Society of Friends. And in August the International Association for Liberal Christianity and Religious Freedom is to meet hard on the heels of the Universal Council on Life and Work at Oxford. The gathering of religious liberals will convene at Manchester College, the famous Unitarian institution so long presided over by Dr. L. P. Jacks. The three chief sessions of the congress are to be devoted to "Our Religious Message," "Our Social Message," and "The Future of Liberal Christianity." The opening address will be given by Dr. Alfred Hall, president of the international body, and the closing address by Patriarch Prochaska of the Czechoslovakian Church. Among the other speakers on the program are Dr. Frederick M. Eliot, newly elected president of the American Unitarian Association, Professor Kurt Leese of Germany, Dr. Szent-Ivanyi of Rumania, Pastor Julius Kaiser of Switzerland, the Rev. P. Teissoniere of Belgium, Principal J. H. Weatherall and the Rev. R. V. Holt of Oxford, Professor James L. Adams of Meadville Theological Seminary, Professor L. J. van Holk of Holland and Dr. F. M. Hnik of Czechoslovakia. There is no little significance in the fact that these Unitarians, Universalists and other denominational liberals find in the church-and-state issue, like the members of the Life and Work conference who will meet before them and the Quakers who will come after them, the most vital issue confronting the forces of religion at the present hour.

Misinterpreted Cablegram Upsets Kagawa's Friends

FRIENDS of the Japanese Christian leader, Dr. Toyohiko Kagawa, have been deeply distressed by a misinterpretation of a news dispatch from Tokyo which has apparently gained wide circulation. On June 10 the Chicago *Tribune,* and perhaps other newspapers, published a report that Mrs. Tsuya Kagawa had entered suit for divorce, alleging that since her husband had become a Christian he had failed properly to provide for her support. Evidently assuming that there could be only one family named Kagawa in the Christian community in Japan, certain well-meaning but ill-advised admirers of the great evangelist published "explanations" in which they sought to draw a parallel between this supposed family rift and the marital experience of others who have attempted to adhere literally to the precepts of the New Testament, such as John Wesley and Tolstoy. A cable to the International Missionary Council, sent by Dr. Akira Ebisawa, general secretary of the National Christian Council of Japan, should set all rumors and misunderstandings at rest: "Report false. Concerns entirely different person. Toyohiko Kakawa and wife unitedly serving Christ as before." Yet even so unfortunate an incident may not be without its compensations if it reminds Christians generally that, in such a life of sacrificial service as Kagawa has lived, not all the sacrifice has been on his part. In fact, may not the greater consecration have been, at many times, that of his wife? Years of self-imposed poverty, years of personal waiting upon the diseased and the social outcast, years of suffering with the ills nurtured in the slums, years of police espionage—all these have been quite as much the portion of Mrs. Kagawa as of her famous husband.

National Capital Drops The Ostrich Act

CAN the repeal of the notorious "red rider" to the District of Columbia appropriation bill be interpreted as a sign of returning national sanity? We would like to regard it as such. At any rate, the event is important enough in itself to deserve national attention. For several years past, as our readers are aware, teachers in the public schools of the District of Columbia have not been able to draw their pay without making deposition, every pay day, that they have not discussed communism in their classes. Thus the national capital has given the entire country its finest example of ostrich education. For pupils in the schools of the district, communism has simply not existed. For them the most important social and political phenomenon of the contemporary world has not been discussed as right or wrong, good or bad, successful or a failure. It simply has not *been*—and that has been that! Now this ridiculous provision has been stricken from the bill controlling the finances of the federal district. The school

authorities of the district made the fight to cast it out—and all honor to them!—but the votes by which it was done were cast by congressmen drawn from every part of the country. Since their act may be reported back in home districts still plagued by red-scare school laws, perhaps their example may have a good effect.

Why Is Anti-Semitism?

STACKED on the editor's table is a heap of manuscripts of articles and communications replying to an editorial, "Jewry and Democracy," which appeared in our issue of June 9, 1937. These have all been carefully read in the hope that some light would be thrown upon the question raised. Only one can be published, that of Rabbi Morris S. Lazaron, which appears on page 878. The others fail to discuss the issue raised, or they raise so many false issues, that their publication would only darken the question upon which our sole desire is to throw light. This is disappointing, especially in view of the fact that the communications are written by some of the outstanding leaders of Jewry in the United States.

What was the problem before us? It was the problem of the social discrimination which the Jew suffers at the hands of gentile society. This was stated as a Jewish problem, because the Jew is the victim and sufferer. It was also stated as a Christian problem, because the Christian conscience cannot be otherwise than profoundly unhappy in the daily observation of this injustice and in its own unescapable participation in it. For Christians, it is primarily a Christian problem. Even if Jews were content, as the arguments of most of our critics seem to imply, with their present position in American society, the Christian conscience could not be content.

The claim of any group to a status as a *permanent* minority is not only an obstruction of the democratic process, as the editorial maintained, but something with which Christian feeling cannot help being concerned. This is not alone because Christianity conceives itself as a universal religion and cannot adjust itself to any limitation of its mission short of including all men. It is also due to practical and immediate exigencies.

Any group in the cultural life of the community which deliberately insulates itself by nondemocratic barriers against the free movement of the democratic process is inevitably in for bad treatment. Every decent Christian will do his utmost to keep his hands clean of such injustice, to inhibit it in others, to sacrifice his own reputation, if need be, in his practice of the spirit of tolerance; but he knows, as everyone knows, that the psychology of society is such that any group is a social irritant if it insists upon being a *permanent* minority, and utilizes undemocratic means to maintain itself as such. Quite aside, then, from what our Jewish brethren call the proselytizing passion of Christianity, the Christian conscience is bound to be made unhappy by the injustice which such a situation breeds. The Jewish problem is thus a Christian problem.

This, and not the idea of Christian universalism, was the basis upon which the discussion was projected. But a word may be said concerning Christian universalism. Our Jewish brethren scorn a faith which conceives itself as universal, and which proceeds upon such a conviction. They have good grounds to do so in face of the kind of Christian proselytism to which they have been subjected. Again and again The Christian Century has associated itself with Judaism in resenting a certain kind of missionary activity by Christian proselytizers. But not for a moment do we consent to be numbered with those whose creed asserts that one religion is as good as another—your religion for you, mine for me.

That doctrine blocks the democratic process. It sanctions cultural separatism. It removes religious values from the free commerce of a dynamic culture. The doctrine is plausible enough for a static culture, like those of the East, but it is incompatible with a culture which is informed by the principle of social change in a democratic process. The only religion compatible with democracy is one which conceives itself as universal, and offers itself to all men of all races and cultures. The Jewish religion, or any other religion, is an alien element in American democracy unless it proclaims itself as a universal faith, *and proceeds upon such a conviction to persuade us all to be Jews.* To hold a faith which is possible to a racial or cultural group only, is to use religion as the sanction and bulwark of an antisocial isolationism. A race or a culture may be able to hold such a faith if, like Germany, it is geographically separate in a country of its own. But a racial or cultural group, be it a minority or a majority group, may not accept the privileges and obligations which go with residence in a mixed democratic society and hold such a faith without incurring social consequences.

The term "democratic process," as used in this discussion, is not a political or legal term, as has been repeatedly indicated, but a cultural or social category. Few of the communications which have been offered for publication recognize this. They talk about "rights" under our political system. But the whole field where political rights obtain has been explicitly shut out of our consideration. There is no debate on the legal or political rights of Jews, and it is a grateful fact that there is no substantial reason in America for that question to arise.

We are dealing with something much more subtle and elusive, something entirely outside of the legal or political process. This is where Rabbi Lazaron fails to connect with the discussion. He asks: "Since when is democracy totalitarian?" We answer: Since human society was born! Democracy as a cultural process *is* totalitarian. Its genius is the free sharing of the goods of life—free thinking, free intercourse, free comparison and exchange of values; also free *conflict* of opinions and values and insights and customs and folkways and everything that goes to constitute a culture—conflict looking toward a higher integration. The totalitarianism which Rabbi Lazaron and The Christian Century condemn is not cultural totalitarianism. It is state control of the totalitarian democratic process which he and we resist with all our powers. The totalitarian state is wicked because it chokes cultural totalitarianism.

There are other than political ways of choking cultural totalitarianism. One is the deliberate insulation of a racial group by restricting its cultural goods to its own kind and kin. It is noteworthy that Rabbi Lazaron concedes the

existence of a "diaspora nationalism" in Jewry. In eloquent language addressed to his own brethren in a gathering in New Orleans, he condemns this cult of the blood. "Shall we condemn it as German or Italian and accept it as Jewish?" he asks. That he was impelled to condemn it as an existing fact among his own people fully justifies the raising of that issue in these pages. He desires completely to dissociate himself from the cult of Jewish nationalism which would make the Jewish race a cyst in the democratic body social.

But Rabbi Lazaron is not convincing when he describes Judaism as a universal faith. Some of our correspondents boldly defend the conception of Judaism as a religion for Jews. Others join Dr. Lazaron in claiming that it is a universal religion. But, like him, they rest this claim upon certain literalisms selected from the Hebrew prophets. This is a specious presentation of the case. Judaism has never followed its great prophets in their universalism. It has been a racial, in the sense of hereditary, culture, sanctioned by its religion. It has been such through all the ages. One had to become a racial Jew, in effect, in order to become a member of the Jewish religious community. If there are today in American Jewry signs of a breaking away from its racial ideology, we may be grateful. And if in the "liberal wing" of Judaism the drastic physical symbolism of grafting the proselyte into the Jewish race is not practiced, as Rabbi Silver, in his criticism of our editorial, declares, that fact also is gratefully noted.

But this does not alter the historical fact that the most basic concept of Judaism through the centuries has been that of a covenant race, destined to be the instrument or medium through which God will perform, soon or late, "some mighty act involving human destiny."

Rabbi Lazaron draws a wholly wrong parallel between Judaism and Christianity when he asks: "Would you suggest that Christianity liquidate? Does Christianity submit any more readily to the democratic process than Judaism and Jews?" The answer to the second question is a positive yes. Christianity is not and never has been a racial faith. Whether it submits *fully* to the democratic process is a question which we raised in our editorial on "Catholicism and Democracy." (See issue of June 16, 1937.) The question whether, on our reasoning, Christianity should not "liquidate," arises from a great misunderstanding. We have not suggested that Judaism "liquidate." No great religion can liquidate. Our suggestion is the direct opposite. We say that the democratic process requires that Judaism come out of its racial and nationalistic shell, and offer itself as a universal religion—in other words, proclaim its purpose to make Jews of us all! Such a reorientation of Judaism in our democratic culture would change the whole face of the Jewish problem.

If this position seems paradoxical, the paradox will be revealed at once by considering the fact that when two rigorous religions meet on the cultured open field of democracy, for free conflict of opinions and comparison of values, the result is not likely to be the annihilation or "liquidation" of either, but the interpenetration of both by the enduring values of each.

The criticisms before us defend Jewish separation by an appeal to the doctrine of "cultural pluralism." This doctrine is used to justify the maintenance of separate cultures and religions in the same democratic society. As a doctrine of social wellbeing it is both true and false. It is true as a description of the hospitality which a democratic society offers to people of all faiths and cultures. It is the glory of American democracy that it has freely received so many distinct racial, cultural and religious types from all parts of the world into its common life. Until recent years no restriction was put upon these streams of immigration.

But this doctrine of cultural pluralism is false as a philosophy of the permanent structure of any dynamic society. America's hospitality has already imperiled its democracy. Carried too far, this hospitality results in a society so heterogeneous that it cannot be a community. Too many communities can destroy the community. The democratic process may be impeded by these self-contained groups. Cultural egoisms can easily enough put a moral overstrain upon social unity. Such a society is in constant peril of rupture and dismemberment. American society already has upon its hands a problem in cultural assimilation which may yet prove too great for it. Not even our economic class struggle contains so great a danger to our common life as does the stubborn continuance of racial and cultural groups in our body social. It is in the shadow of this peril that we ask Jews, on their part, to give every evidence within their power of a purpose to expose their cultural and religious community to the free play of the democratic process.

In closing this further statement, we wish to refresh our readers' minds, and especially those of the beloved and brilliant rabbis who have sent their comments, as to just what the previous editorial sought to do. Our purpose, as many of our correspondents generously concede, is not to excite or to wound, but to open up to the light a question which is tabu in both Jewish and Christian writing, and in general secular literature.

The question before us is that involved in the social discrimination suffered by Jews at a thousand points in gentile society. This is a cruel injustice which no Christian can condone. We defined it as the treatment of a man in terms of his classification as a Jew rather than in terms of his merit as a man.

Why is there this Christendom-wide discrimination?

The common explanation on the grounds of social mannerisms and physical characteristics is ruled out as unworthy of notice by intelligent people. Nor can the question be answered by examining merely the contemporary situation. Anti-Semitism is a historical phenomenon. Christianity contributed terribly, and still contributes, to it. But it pre-dates Christianity, albeit not in the violent form of the later Christian era. The question, then, is: What is the root of this irrational and cruel obsession by the gentile world with respect to a strong, highly intelligent, and lovable people?

We should like to have a Jewish answer to this question.

For itself, The Christian Century offered this: The root of anti-Semitism is "the Jew's immemorial and pertinacious obsession with an illusion, the illusion that his race, his people, are the object of the special favor of God, who requires the maintenance of their racial integrity and separateness as a medium through which, soon or late, will be performed some mighty act involving human destiny." We thought we saw in this obsession of Jewry an

effective barrier against genuine social interaction on a psychological and cultural parity with the other peoples amongst whom they have lived from pagan days down to our own. This barrier was bound to provoke, in the subtle processes of social psychology, resort to the irrational weapons of social stigma, hostility and hate.

If this diagnosis is erroneous, or naive, or superficial, or otherwise unsound, this paper covets the honor of being proved wrong in its own pages. In addition we covet the privilege of carrying a constructive article, written by a Jew, proposing and defending an alternative diagnosis.

The question is, Why is anti-Semitism?

Seeing Two Sides

EDITOR THE CHRISTIAN CENTURY:

SIR: "I should have gone further in my life," my old friend said to me, "if I had not had the unhappy gift of seeing both sides of a question." I answered that it might be so, but yet it might be the mark of an honest mind to see both sides; and if he had not done so, he might have gone further and fared worse.

But you will agree that there was something in that confession. It may even be a sign of weakness to be always balancing *pros* and *cons;* so desperately cunning is the Old Adam in us that he may persuade us that we are seeing both sides when all the time we are evading a decision. Or it may well be that we see both sides, not at the same time, but in different companies. With the Reds, we see red; with the Blues, if they are the opposite, we see blue. With the Protestant, we are Protestant, and when we are in Rome, we do as Rome does. Such a policy of life is unworthy of commendation. If life is meant for anything, it is not for the conduct of Mr. Facing-Both-Ways. The record of a good life cannot be described as *Observations of One Who Sat on the Fence.*

There is something in all of us that responds to the call of the great leaders of mankind in hours of decision, "Who is on the Lord's side?" There are times in which it is not the first duty to be impartial or to see both sides, but to answer this call. Browning, who never tired of setting forth this truth, gives it a most moving expression in the words of the pope in *The Ring and the Book.* The pope, a very old man, has to make the final decision of life or death for the criminal Count Guido. He sums up the facts; he sees every side; he listens to every voice which can be raised; then in stern and unfaltering words he gives his verdict. Voices plead for Guido, but the old man answers when they call for him to give his judgment:

> "I will, sirs: but a voice other than yours
> Quickens my spirit. "Quis pro Domino?"
> "Who is upon the Lord's side?" asked the Court.
> I, who write—
> "On receipt of this command
> Acquaint Count Guido and his fellows four
> They die tomorrow."

Nevertheless you will agree that there is a right use of "seeing both sides." If I doubted this, I should be convinced by the doctrine on the matter confessed by the head of the propaganda in Germany. These are his words and no one will deny that he lives up to them: "The ordinary man hates nothing more than two-sidedness, to be called upon to consider this as well as that. The masses think simply and primitively. They love to generalize complicated situations, and from their generalization to draw clear and uncompromising conclusions. Our agitation has often been called unintelligent and primitive. Certainly national socialist agitation is primitive. However, the people think primitively."

This is the way of others than Dr. Göbbels; indeed, it is the creed of the modern propagandists in all countries. And to my mind the power lodged in the hands of these men is the most sinister sign of these times. If I am to see only one side, I do not want it selected for me by Dr. Göbbels. To be guided by masses thinking primitively under the baton of such conductors is the way to disaster.

Ever yours somewhat fearful,

QUINTUS QUIZ.

VERSE

Preparedness

WITH iron barricade and sentried wall
They built against a charging outer tide.
But all in vain! They let the castle fall
Beneath the onslaught of the foe inside.

STANTON A. COBLENTZ.

Walls

O CHRIST, they took Your living words
And made from them a creed;
They built theology upon
The words You meant to lead
Men through their darkness and their doubt
Into the perfect light;
They made high walls that shut You out,
And only shut in—night!

MYRIAM PAGE.

*Greenbelt**

OUT of the sky a city came to earth
Before a Seer's eyes; but here today
Out of the ground a city has its birth
For quiet homes and happy children's play.
Here is a dream of comradeship and mirth,
This is an archetype of things to be,
Here is a testament to human worth,
A valid model of fraternity!

Greenbelt—the very name is like a dream
To challenge youth to build a fairer life,
To shame our slums and alleys, and redeem
Our famished lives from poverty and strife.
Warring with pride and avarice alone
Man writes his last apocalypse in stone!

ALLEN EASTMAN CROSS.

*Greenbelt is the little city of homes being built outside Washington, D. C., for poor laborers. The work is under the direction of the federal Resettlement Administration.

Let Labor Look at Land!

By Louis Wallis

THE WAGNER ACT is, of course, a highly commendable piece of legislation. But it relates only to methods of handling industrial disputes, and it leaves untouched the burning issues back of the labor fight. The long standing hostility between labor and capital is an outgrowth of tendencies and conditions which came into play in Great Britain before the system of modern industry took form and before the labor movement began.

While Britain was mainly agricultural, a large part of its population was forced off the soil by "land enclosure acts," which drove multitudes away from the rural districts into the villages, towns and cities. The "enclosures" were the work of certain interests whose power in Parliament enabled them to put the main load of taxation upon merchandise while exempting land from fiscal burdens. These changes in taxation and the holding of land began to have terrible effects in the latter part of the eighteenth century, when machinery for mass production was invented and set up in British towns and cities.

'Labor Surplus' in Britain and America

The owners of the new machines were compelled to pay heavy leasehold or purchase cost for the sites on which their factories were built, while at the same time the taxes which the landholding aristocracy escaped were imposed with burdensome severity upon the business class. These tremendous "overhead" liabilities of taxation and ground rent had to be liquidated year by year *before* labor could be paid. Consequently a low level of wages prevailed, which was also held down by the struggle of "surplus" labor for work at any price in the cities overcrowded by "enclosure acts."

British methods of taxation and landholding were inherited by America during the colonial period, and while the effects of these methods were somewhat delayed because our western frontier at first offered an avenue of escape, yet the American economic scene has, by now, largely reproduced the British picture. Reduction of all unused land into speculative holdings, from coast to coast, has had the inexorable result of tightening up the real estate market so as to inflate farm and city values beyond the productive worth of land. Thus, in the country districts, young people have been more and more shut out from ownership; while those who purchased land, or who borrowed money on the basis of inflated values, have been foreclosed through inability to carry the double burden of taxes and of interest on overvalued land. Accordingly, a large part of our agricultural population has degenerated into a renting peasantry; while another large part has been driven out of the country districts into the towns and cities, to form a floating "surplus" labor class, as in Great Britain.

American business, in the meanwhile, has found itself compelled more and more to reckon with inflated ground values in the cities, along with a growing tax burden. And since ground rent and taxes have to be liquidated year by year before labor is paid, the result is that the American wage level is depressed, and is also driven down by the struggle of "surplus" labor for employment, as in the mother country.

Low Buying Power Hurts Business

A depressed wage scale means low buying power; so that a nation's domestic market is unable to absorb the value of its own manufactured goods. But in the case of Great Britain the problem of underpaid labor was ignored at first, because Britain was the only country that had machinery, and thus could sell her products in foreign parts. So it came to pass that British labor continued to be underpaid in order that the landed aristocracy might keep on collecting ground rent. Nevertheless, other countries began to install machinery for mass production, which of course reduced the market for British goods. Then, to continue the protection of her ground landlords, Great Britain was forced to go out over the earth and conquer "spheres of influence" among backward races whose markets could be monopolized by military force.

But in course of time these conquered outlets for trade proved unsatisfactory, whereupon the idea of "imperial free trade" was conceived as a means of uniting all British possessions in a single "commonwealth" surrounded by a tariff wall, so that the dominions and colonies would have to purchase more goods from the "home country." But here again, the outlying parts of the empire have not responded with quite enough alacrity and "patriotism" to exploitation by Great Britain. In other words, the ideas of "empire" and "commonwealth" are proving to be incompatible. So Britain is now being forced back upon the cause of inadequate buying power among the vast, underpaid masses at home, who should really be able to buy the equivalent of what they produce.

City Councils Rise in Protest

The low British wage level, as already observed, is largely due to the pressure of ground rent upon overtaxed industry and agriculture, and also to the correlated fact that good building land is held out of use at inflated speculative prices around every town and city in Britain, while at the same time vast rural game preserves and private parks, which could be devoted to the raising of food and employment of labor, are likewise debarred from production by a false economic policy. To correct this appalling condition, the London County Council and some 230 other city councils throughout England, Scotland and Wales, have recently passed resolutions by overwhelming majorities, calling for double-action laws reducing the tax burden on goods and buildings and correspondingly increasing the taxation upon the ground rental value of both improved and vacant sites. No account of this highly influential British movement can be found in American newspapers!

"Site value," says the London County Council in its report, "is the measure of the commercial, social and industrial advantages attaching to a site, which arise from the existence of the community and from public services provided out of the public purse. It is a value which has not

occasioned any cost of production to the owner; and consequently the rating (i.e., taxing) of site values is, in effect, a means of securing to the public a value which it has itself created."

The most impressive part of the report, which brings out most clearly and concretely the conditions behind the labor problem, is the section illustrating by actual examples how land is held out of use on speculation at a low level of assessment (as it is also in the United States), and how, when this land is wanted for productive use which will employ multitudes of laboring people, it is only to be had on a heavy ground lease or at a high purchase cost entailing burdensome interest, *before wages can be paid to labor.*

In one case, a parcel of land had been assessed for seven thousand pounds (about $35,000). But behold, when it was wanted for cottage housing, the purchase price demanded and secured was about nine hundred and thirty thousand pounds (about $4,650,000), or one hundred and twenty-five times the value at which it had been taxed! In another case, land held out of use on speculation at an assessed value of about one thousand pounds ($5,000), was wanted for a city park, and could only be had at a purchase price of one hundred thousand pounds ($500,000), making the purchase price one hundred times the assessed value. In other cases, land which had been entered on the rate books as of "no rateable value" was only to be had at a cost of eighty thousand pounds ($400,000).

The Tory Dilemma

Curtly refusing the demand of the London County Council and the 230 other municipal councils in England, Scotland and Wales, the ground-lord Tory government of Britain finds itself today in a terrifying dilemma. It has protected land values from taxation by piling all kinds of taxes on houses, factories and merchandise, thus hampering business and labor in every way possible. And now the new Tory prime minister, Mr. Neville Chamberlain, has conceived the brilliant (?) idea of an outright, naked tax on productive capital, as such. He correctly defines capital engaged in the process of industry as "the actual cost of assets, less depreciation, and without regard for paper securities over and above the said actual cost of assets." Business is up in arms.

Capital and labor together, of course, have been carrying virtually the entire burden of British taxes all the time, just as they do in America. But since every channel of taxation in Great Britain, except ground rent, has been loaded to the limit, the Tory party is being forced into the open as the protector of the "landed interest," just as it was a hundred years ago when the great Peel split the Tories over the issue of free trade—part of them remaining on the side of the landed aristocracy, while enough of them combined with the Whigs and Liberals to give industry and commerce a new deal. Many persons affiliated with the Tories in Britain today are advocating "rating ground values."

If the truth about contemporary British politics and economics were told in our newspapers, it would be much easier for us, on this side of the water, to see and interpret the real issues which underlie the labor controversy here in America. Our governmental pattern follows that of Britain, despite superficial differences. A bitter fight, just before the World War, led by British business and labor against the landed aristocracy, took away by constitutional amendment the tax veto of the House of Lords. These obstructive powers in America have been concentrated in the Supreme Court, and must be curtailed upon exactly the same ground as required the British action.

Why Labor's Fight Is Futile

Strikes are inconclusive and futile because they deal merely with surface issues, on the assumption that the merits of these controversies are simply between "capital and labor." No light is being thrown on the subject by anything which labor leaders or business men are saying today. Moreover, the struggle is deliberately carried up to the point of irreconcilable divergence of interest by the current Marxian philosophy, which openly proclaims class war leading to the downfall of private enterprise and public ownership of productive capital. Marx's book, *Capital,* pillories the business man, and knows nothing about the great fiscal compromise on which modern parliamentary government is based, according to which the main tax burden is loaded upon manufacture and commerce.

This compromise is now in slow process of reversal by Great Britain, "the mother of parliaments." Along these lines the logic of modern history is moving, and hence the struggle between capital and labor is a false alarm which obscures the underlying problem of civilization. The whole subject of industrial relationships will continue to be plunged in the darkness that now surrounds it until the real nature of the social-economic problem is recognized not only by labor and capital, but by the general public.

Two Dialogues

The Pioneer

THE SMUG ONE—How tattered you are! Your face and hands are scratched.

THE PIONEER—I made new paths.

THE SMUG ONE—The old paths are so good and smooth. Why risk the hardship and the danger?

THE PIONEER—I cannot help it. I must blaze new ways.

THE SMUG ONE—Oh, be contented here; let go the wilderness.

THE PIONEER—It will not let me go.

The Leper

LEPER—Unclean! Unclean!

PEOPLE—Listen! He is calling you.

LEPER—Calling *me?*

PEOPLE—Yes, yes. He is calling *you.*

LEPER—Me, the leper, the outcast?

PEOPLE—Yes, yes. Go to Him. He has cured others. He is the miracle man. . . .

LEPER—What wilt thou, Lord?

LORD—Peace be with thee.

LEPER—Oh, my Lord! . . .

PEOPLE—Alas! A leper still! He did not perform a miracle.

LEPER—He did. I am His.

ARTHUR B. RHINOW.

XUM

Spain's Useful Reminder

By Roy Temple House

THE SPANISH civil war is one of the most pathetically futile in history. It does not take a prophet or the son of a prophet to foresee that it will last a long time, and that neither side is likely ever to win a decisive victory. The Spaniard has none of the suppleness of the Hebrew, the cautious skepticism of the modern Frenchman, the Anglo-Saxon's eye to the main chance. He is hot and brave and generous after an ideal; he is completely unwilling and unable to compromise. For all that sanguine partisans on both sides may tell you, the two parties are fairly evenly matched. Disregarding the foreigners who are fishing in troubled waters, there are several million Spaniards behind the government and several million, likewise Spaniards, supporting Franco. There is an element on each side who are fired with fanatic zeal and who have no intention of surrendering while there is any blood left in their veins. And it may be years before either side is so completely weakened that it cannot drag the struggle on any longer.

For one of the surprises of this war—most wars in recent times have bristled with surprises—is not the great amount of injury which the much-feared modern engines of warfare have inflicted, but the relative slowness with which they have accomplished their ghastly work of demolition. Henry d'Estre, in an article in the Paris *Revue Hebdomadaire,* quotes an eminent Italian military authority as declaring proudly, just after Marshal Balbo's air expedition to this country two or three years ago, that if Italy engaged in warfare with either of the other great powers, she would have no difficulty in bringing the other country to terms in three or four days! Thousands of tons of explosives, he declared, could be dropped on the enemy country's cities, her ports, her railroad centers, her centers of mobilization, destroying a large fraction of her population and her wealth and frightening the survivors into abject submission. Franco's airships have been hovering over Madrid, Barcelona and other cities, not for three or four days, but for a year, and all they have been able to accomplish thus far is to tear down a few buildings—a modest little earthquake could have done the job much more effectively—and to murder and mangle a few thousands of women and children with perhaps an occasional dangerous combatant. And as for frightening the republicans into submission, every air raid only increases the indignation against the raiders and the determination with which they are resisted.

Advantages with the Defensive

There is no reason to suppose that the capture of Madrid, of Bilbao, of any city or cities, would end the war or make any marked difference in the status of the belligerents. When Napoleon burned Moscow, he lighted the funeral pyre on which his hope of a conquest of Russia was burned to ashes. And in the present war there is no present likelihood that the invaders will succeed in taking a great city like Madrid or Barcelona. For conditions of warfare have changed since Napoleon was able to destroy Moscow, and the changes have been predominantly to the disadvantage of the attacking party. In Spain, as in the World War, the defensive has the upper hand.

To quote Henry d'Estre again, there have been more modifications in military organization in the past quarter century than in the two hundred and fifty years preceding. If Napoleon had come back to earth on the eve of the World War, he would have found almost every warlike instrument of his day still in existence and still used much as he used it—dense lines of infantry maneuvering in the open; clumsy artillery painfully dragged from place to place by horses; cavalry in armor, almost like the unwieldy medieval knights, light cavalry, hussars. But if he had returned to his long sleep and then come to life only five years later, in 1919, say, he would have found the military world completely transformed, and if he had undertaken to have a part in the fracas again, he would have found it necessary to re-enter Saint Cyr and learn the art of war over again from the beginning.

Spain Is Not Ethiopia!

It is true that at the beginning of the fighting the Spanish commanders on both sides lacked up-to-date experience. The Spanish military machine had grown terribly rusty, and it had always been handled by too many officers and too few soldiers. (Probably no other country has any such proportion—it is recorded that in 1808 there was one general for every sixty privates, and the rate is still unusual.) So it was natural that in the first days of the civil war both sides should have done a good deal of blundering and fumbling. But what about the thirty or forty thousand black shirts—Signor Mussolini probably knows exactly how many, but he has not confided in us—fresh from their triumphant Ethiopian campaign? I spoke a moment ago of the surprises which most modern wars have occasioned. Military authorities were moved to astonishment and admiration (generous or grudging, according to their political complexion) when the Italians did so brilliant a piece of work against man and nature in Abyssinia. Their campaign was skillfully managed, their soldiers fought bravely, but above all, they enjoyed the advantage of the most up-to-date war machinery, whereas the Ethiopians were still equipped with the completely superannuated weapons and armaments of pre-1914 days, as antiquated from the military point of view as those used in the ages of Napoleon and Wellington. But brought over to Spain and faced with equipment not so pathetically different from their own, neither the irresistible Italians nor Hitler's warlike Germans have made much progress. There were Frenchmen, Englishmen, Americans on the other side to even them up; and more important probably than any other consideration, the defenders, outwitted, taken by surprise, half prepared, nevertheless enjoyed the tremendous advantage—and we are learning that in modern warfare this advantage is greater than ever—of fighting on the defensive.

What, then, is the most useful lesson of the Spanish

war? This war has brought us another reminder that a people fighting on the defensive is well nigh impregnable. It is common to lament that the Allies did not push the fighting with Germany in the last months of 1918 and continue the war till Germany was decisively crushed. The answer is that it would have been terribly costly, and perhaps almost impossible, to crush Germany in that way. Sixty million desperate Germans, fighting on their own soil with the energy and tenacity of despair, would have found ways and means of holding out and inflicting such devastating losses on the invading forces that all the horrors of the earlier years would have been as nothing in comparison. On the other hand, in spite of all her bombast, Germany's foreign offensives are not likely to prove nearly as dangerous as the Spaniards, the French, the Czechs and others have feared—witness the very mediocre showing of the Germans in Spain.

There may still be a few backward races, like the Ethiopians, who can be knocked down with impunity and have their possessions taken away from them, but on the whole it seems reasonably certain that the day of the war of conquest is passing. It would have been hard to preach pacifism to the old Spanish conquistadores while they were filling their pockets with Peruvian gold, or to the lieutenants of Napoleon who were helping themselves to titles and fat perquisites all over Europe. But it is coming to be truer and truer that offensive warfare doesn't pay. And by the time the lesson is driven home in a large way a few times more, it may be that the politicians will begin to be impressed by it.

It begins to look as if both Germany and Italy are beginning to realize that they have nothing to gain in Spain. There are other motives for war, it is true, than greed; but if it turns out very obviously a few times more that wars prove to be poor business, they may tend to become less popular.

America's Educational Retreat

By Jerome Davis

HUMANITY is on the march even if it sometimes does move in circles. Fascism, communism, imperialism, revolution, war—all are characteristic of our epoch. In such a period education can hardly afford to stand still. The average citizen does not fully realize what the past decade has done to our educational liberty. Listen to the indictment:

1. A larger number of laws have been enacted interfering with teaching than in all the other decades of American history combined.

2. Many schools compel formal instruction in the Constitution and expel those whose religious scruples prevent them from saluting the flag.

3. Special loyalty oaths are required of teachers in some twenty states, and until a few weeks ago in Washington, D. C., they were required to swear, every two weeks before receiving their pay checks, that they had not even referred to communism.

4. College administrators have censored more student papers and liberal clubs than in any other decade.

5. More college professors have been dismissed than in any similar period in our history.

6. Teachers' unions are being vigorously opposed and in many cases outlawed, as has happened in Memphis and St. Louis.

7. Freedom to hear the truth is often blocked. At one of our largest universities Ferdinand Pecora, counsel for the United States Senate, was debarred, and even United States Senator Nye was officially asked to postpone his coming.

Unrealized Dreams of the Fathers

All of this sounds more like what goes on in a totalitarian state in Europe than the United States of America. But eternal vigilance is the price of liberty and we have been otherwise occupied. Consider some of the changes which have crept upon us so silently that we did not always realize their coming or understand their meaning if we did.

America has long believed in the fundamental necessity of education. Washington in his first inaugural address urged Congress to provide national aid for the schools. Jefferson desired to have a schoolhouse within the reach of every child. He urged a system of subsidies such that the best children would always be educated at the public expense even through the university. America has been so obsessed with building a material culture that she has never entirely carried out these ideals of the founding fathers. Instead the encroachments of a money culture and a rapidly advancing capitalism have brought changes which threaten even the educational liberty that has been ours.

As we survey the past we recognize that technical discovery has made possible the great modern mass production factory. This means an urbanization and mechanization of life, with a great horde of propertyless citizens dependent on the whims of the machine for a livelihood. In contrast to pioneer days we are living in an era of corpocracy. Corporations rule the economic life and threaten security, tenure and freedom of the teacher whether he recognizes it or not. In 1932 two hundred large corporations controlled over 56 per cent of all the assets of manufacturing concerns. The majority of stockholders no longer rule even if they are the nominal owners. Through manipulative devices a small inner ring controls 89 per cent of the two hundred largest corporations. In 1932 the salaries of executives and the earnings of stockholders in only four of the largest tobacco companies equaled all that the farmers of the United States received for all the tobacco raised that year.

Those who dominate the corporate life of the nation tend to control our boards of education. Fifty-two per cent of the members of public boards of education belong to the commercial, managerial or proprietor class. This same

group is even more dominant among college trustees, where control usually rests in the hands of the same men who run our banks, factories, public utilities and railroads. Professor John R. Commons concluded after a lifetime of educational service, "It was not religion, it was capitalism that governed Christian colleges." That is not to say that there are not notable exceptions, nor does this control necessarily interfere with all parts of the educational process. It merely places certain limits on what can be done, in social science for instance.

The State's Growing Responsibilities

As a result of the industrial revolution and corporation rule, the family economy is in disintegration. The factory has displaced the home as the economic unit. The educational and protective responsibilities of the home have been largely transferred to the state. All this has made a profound difference with education. The school is asked to solve problems which used to be the province of the home. Today crime, disease, drinking, immorality, even the unrest of the younger generation are considered the concern of the school. But we have not matched these growing responsibilities with the requisite increase of educational opportunity.

The extent to which materialism threatens the national life is shown by our willingness to curtail education drastically when profits are menaced. The depression which increased the responsibilities of the schools resulted in cutting their expenditures in half or more. Michigan, for instance, reduced appropriations from $109,000,000 to $49,000,000. Actually during the first four years of the depression there was a $2,100,000 decrease in educational expenditures on the average every single day. The results have been catastrophic. In 1933 alone, 100,000 more schoolchildren than usual were denied all educational opportunity because of closed schools. Shortened school terms condemned a million additional children to "mental starvation," as it is called by the United States bureau of education. In a single year 25,000 teachers were dropped. One out of every two cities has now had to reduce or eliminate such important and necessary services as art, music, home economics or health. At least 20,000 schools have closed their doors because of lack of funds.

If we turn to the college world, the conditions are not much better. In 1933 alone, 67 colleges closed their doors without paying back salaries. Thousands of professors have been released and many are on relief.

Politicians Raid the Schools

In the public school system the depression has placed a strain on the politicians. They have needed positions for their friends. What more natural than that they should turn to the schools? So the spoils system too often has become part and parcel of education. The depression made the politicians as bold as starved wolves. In city after city they placed their henchmen in important positions in the public schools. The Columbia University survey of the Chicago school system, for instance, showed that, in contrast to instruction, the costs of business management were outrageously high. Building maintenance and operation were often being used to provide political patronage. Actually it was found that many of the engineering custodians in Chicago received more compensation than the principals of the schools.

America probably does not realize what all this is doing to her national life. It means that we cannot be as enlightened, as democratic, as we might become. Our social and economic order has been completely transformed in the last three generations. A simple self-contained economy has through the magic wand of the industrial system become complex, highly specialized and interdependent. Just as a powerful magnet attracts iron filings, so big mines and big mills attract great masses of workers. As a result in some localities the people can afford a great deal of money to provide good schools. In others they are poor, not through any fault of their own, but because of the lack of natural resources. Thus prosperity tends to be spotty. These differences threaten the basic principle of equality of opportunity on which American democracy was built. In the depression the schools in the poor states suffered much more than the others. Contrast, for instance, New York and South Carolina. In 1929 New York was spending five times as much per pupil as South Carolina. In spite of this, during the depression South Carolina cut her school expenditures four times as much as New York.

Federal Help Needed

It is impossible for the backward states to tax themselves sufficiently to provide good schools. The poor states, like Alabama, Georgia, Oklahoma and Tennessee cannot possibly provide by themselves the educational facilities of California, Illinois, New York and Pennsylvania. As a matter of fact, Mississippi is only able to raise $18.39 per capita, while Nevada can raise $109.33. If Mississippi were to bring her school system even up to the average standard of the other states, it would use up 96.5 per cent of all her tax revenue. This is obviously impossible. By way of contrast, Nevada with her vast mineral wealth would only have to spend 16.5 per cent.

Thirteen of our states would have to appropriate over half of all tax money on schools if they were to come even up to the average. Whether children are educated adequately thus depends on the accident of geological deposits made millions of years ago. All this simply means that we need national aid for our schools and a national educational program. The Fletcher-Harrison bill proposes a federal appropriation of $100,000,000. This is a good beginning, but if the educational needs of the nation were really placed first we should appropriate from three to five times this amount.

Citizens can be oblivious to educational needs but only by paying a price. To ignore the necessity of adequate salaries, adequate tenure and freedom in the educational world is to court disaster nationally. Yet, on this issue, the country shows an ominous quiescence.

Today

THE pagan gods of force reclaim their altars,
The kings of blood again set up their thrones.
In these sad days 'tis only Christ who falters:
He finds no churches—only splendid stones!

THOMAS CURTIS CLARK.

JULY SURVEY OF BOOKS

From Out This Bourne

THOUGHTS ON DEATH AND LIFE. *By William Ernest Hocking. Harper & Brothers, $2.00.*

THERE is no empirical evidence for survival of death. And yet immortality is one of the most persistent of all human beliefs. From primitive man on down to civilized groups of the present day a belief in some kind of survival has usually been characteristic of a majority. Moreover, the belief exists prior to any rational basis for it. And the many arguments that through the centuries have been used against it have not proved entirely convincing for many people. Even the most ardent materialist, who never doubts that death means the final disintegration of the body, feels a little hesitant in his pronouncements concerning consciousness and those elements which pertain to the spiritual aspects of human existence. The logical implications of his philosophy would of course exclude as unreal the whole realm of ideas. Naturally then the arguments which to him are convincing with reference to the future of physical bodies would have no bearing at all on the question of a spiritual survival.

Survival of death is not a meaningless belief. Indeed, as Dr. Hocking shows clearly in this book, the whole question of life's value and meaning is bound up with it. Many of the books that have been written on the subject of immortality contain arguments which in the minds of their respective authors tend to prove the case either for or against the doctrine of survival. But this book is not one of them. As the author conceives the problem, immortality is not a question of empirical science. Nor is it a matter of probability. Accordingly, it is not something to be proved one way or the other. What is needed is a clear analysis of the question itself. It is necessary to consider various meanings of death and of life and to note the implications that are involved in each one.

In the first part of the book Dr. Hocking discusses various meanings of death. He points out, for example, that the motives which prompt one to believe in survival cannot be regarded as purely selfish. Selfish motives are concerned with either the acquisition or the continuance of definite objects. But the desire for immortality is a desire not for the possession of objects but for the continuation of a subject. And, again, he tells us that death is not an unmixed evil. The phenomenon of death makes possible the avoidance of gross inequalities of age; it provides for flexibility in the changes of history; it enables individuals to appreciate the worth of time; and it gives to human life a shape and character which it could not otherwise possess.

The common grounds on which survival has been excluded as impossible are shown upon examination to vanish into thin air. So far as any concrete evidence is concerned it may be that the death which human beings experience is analogous to other deaths which occur in the course of one's life. It may resemble the death of childhood which is a necessary condition of maturity or the death of a suppressed selfhood which leads into a larger personality. At any rate Dr. Hocking finds one truth about death which in his judgment needs to be emphasized. It is that *duration is a dimension of value*. Life is worth more as a continued than as a closed affair. The meaning of things is increased by the cumulation of the past with which one thinks them. To suppose that new values can stand by themselves apart from any relation to the past is an example of what the author calls the *fallacy of isolationism*.

But what about the survival of the person who does not want immortality? Is it something that is likely to be forced upon an individual against his will? Dr. Hocking thinks not. He believes that immortality is a possibility but not a necessity for the person who does not desire it. These are his words: "Perhaps our figure of the germinal self may offer an inkling: the process of living this present life *well* might render the fertile soul pregnant with otherness and unknown to itself gravitant toward a new birth." And to this he adds: "This is consonant with flashes of insight which have lighted the race, have been embodied in its saviors and, treasured in the great traditions, have constituted their valid essence. They indicate that survival may be a matter of the *degree of reality* which the self attains. For the reality of the self is not a fixed quantity: the self is more or less real, more or less a cherisher of illusion, more or less sham and pretense and self-deceit; the deepest law of duty is to put off falsities and achieve what reality we are capable of."

In his discussion of the meanings of life Dr. Hocking tells us that the value and significance of this life are necessarily bound up with the doctrine of survival. "It is evident that the prevalent notion that interest in another world is intrinsically a subtraction from interest in this world is the precise reverse of the normal situation." Without the continuance of personality the present in human life cannot hold its worth and meaning.

CHARLES H. PATTERSON.

As In a Glass—Not Darkly

THE FASCIST: HIS STATE AND HIS MIND. *By E. B. Ashton. William Morrow and Company, $2.50.*

THE FUNDAMENTAL theme of this book is similar to that in H. F. Armstrong's recent essay, "We or They": that the basic theories of fascism are opposed to and irreconcilable with the major premises of Western democracy. In some three hundred pages of brilliant exposition, Mr. Ashton gives a fascinating and accurate summary of fascist ideology which will certainly win for itself a permanent place among all the writings on that much discussed subject. The author has a remarkable gift for expressing intricate ideas lucidly, and no one will rise from a reading of his volume without knowing more than when he began.

In eight chapters Ashton discusses respectively the argument of fascism; its basic premises; the organization of the party as the characteristic political structure of the state; fascist ideas of law and liberty; war in the fascist scheme of things, and, finally, the twin questions whether democracy has "failed," and whether democracy will "survive." His point of view is stated succinctly by himself as follows: ". . . if we, as non-fascists, want to assert and justify effectively our stand on *our* premises, we shall first have to realize fascism not from our point of view but from its own. That is to say, we have to find out what fascism means to fascists—not to any imaginary 'objective' observer."

As noteworthy results of the examination conducted on this initial premise, the reviewer commends the following points: (1) The exposition of fascism's basic principles which are discovered to be aggressive nationalism, a religiously devout glorification of the secular state, and the combined virtues of hierarchy, authority and discipline; (2) the remarkable summaries of the fascist methods for indoctrinating the youthful generation within the framework of organized education and without it; (3) the account of the propaganda techniques in

fascist lands, which as Ashton aptly says smack of an unholy combination of Machiavelli, Ignatius Loyola and P. T. Barnum; (4) the convincing demonstration that fascist economics irresistibly tend to approximate communist economics; (5) a most revealing discussion of fascist ideas of liberty and law (some of our income tax-dodgers should read the long footnote on page 127 discussing the fascist treatment of the marginal law-violator); (6) a pungent critique of "atrocities" as a phase of fascism with a conclusion that is certainly surprising; (7) a trenchant summary of the fascist convictions on war, peace, "national honor" and the sanctity of treaties.

The author shows with clear precision that the New Deal is not fascism; that the United States is not in the slightest danger of "going fascist"; that, in fact, one of the most clumsy things we do is to dub every indigenous American progressive movement a forerunner of fascism. Of those Americans who raise this cry on every possible occasion the author tersely says: " . . . it would prove an enlightening experience for the men responsible for this trend of political discussion to try a change of atmosphere for a while and broaden their views by assuming the leadership of an opposition party in a truly fascist country." Every daily headline from Italy or Germany confirms the significance of this remark.

If there is a flaw at all in this remarkable book, it can only be in the possibility that the author has done his task too well. Has he perchance not given the fascist ideology a unity and coherence, a schematic excellence and orderly arrangement which are a little too ideal? In the actual building of the dictatorial oligarchies which now dominate Germany and Italy there have been more brutality and bloodshed, more of the fortuitous, more bluff, bravado and personal idiosyncrasy than the beautifully ordered pages of Ashton's book quite reveal.

That passage in the book which seemed to the reviewer most striking has been saved for this last paragraph. The question it poses keeps recurring to his mind. Here it is: "To have collectivism, capitalism and civil liberty is impossible. One of them has to go." The United States, says Ashton, has let go collectivism; Russia dispenses with capitalism, while fascism abandons civil liberty. Any combination of two is possible; but all three, never! Can this be an ultimate political truth? If it is, what are its practical implications for all of us in the United States? What do the readers of The Christian Century think of this aphorism? It is almost gratuitous to observe that much hangs on the answer.

J. Duane Squires.

'Catholicism of the Word'

What Is the Faith? *By Nathaniel Micklem. Cokesbury Press, $2.00.*

THIS volume, by the principal of Mansfield College, Oxford, is alike interesting in itself and in the light which it casts upon the movement of religious thought today. Dr. Micklem reflects the attitude, one might say the search, of large numbers in the Western religious world. Beginning as a liberal, seeking to do justice to the historical and human and to follow after truth with an open mind, he came to see that so long as it had no more than this, liberal Protestantism was steadily moving toward disintegration. He saw that religion meant conviction and not merely the open mind, achievement and not merely search, above all that the Christian faith centered in the thought of a divine world and not merely in a human thought.

The task which Dr. Micklem sets for himself is to define "the fundamental deposit of the faith." He does not wish to give up his Congregational freedom. He believes in the "definition by the Word" rather than the "definition by the hierarchy." But definition there must be. Protestantism is doomed unless it can define its faith. There is "a final apostolic gospel" with which the church has been entrusted. This is "the common or catholic faith," which, for Protestantism, is "the catholicism of the Word." The author is thus seeking for a catholicism which should be the primary concern of both Protestants and Romanists. So Micklem, though not as sweeping in his condemnation of philosophy and natural religion as Barth, starts with the same basic idea: "Apart from its particular roots in history, Christianity would be a theosophy or philosophy of religion; it is its relation to history that constitutes it a gospel." The Christian revelation is expressed in active verbs: God *sent* his Son; he *came* in Christ; he *reconciled.* Its distinctive dogmas are "not in terms of abstract truths about God, but in terms of 'the mighty acts of God'."

How then shall we define this "story," this gospel "which constitutes Christianity and without which you do not have a Christian church"? The author seeks to distinguish three aspects of the matter. First is "the story," the tale of the divine action in history, which constitutes the gospel brought by the church to men. It is to be distinguished from the "dogma," which Micklem employs in a rather confusing manner to designate the truths directly and necessarily involved in the gospel. And both are to be discriminated from the third, the creeds and doctrines and theological systems of the church.

The divisions are not clear and they are further blurred in the presentation. For obviously the "story" itself cannot be told without interpretation, and the differences of interpretation become more obvious when Micklem points out the "dogmas" which he considers to be definitely given in the story. Revealing the influence of Anglicanism, which is so evident in the nonconformist religious thought of England, the author stands for an "incarnational" theology. He can state "the story" simply and in biblical language: "God was in Christ reconciling the world unto himself"; "God so loved the world that he gave his Son." The living God in his mercy enters into human history in Christ in a decisive deed of revelation and redemption. Micklem insists that it is wholly inadequate to depict Christianity as "faith in the fatherhood of God and the brotherhood of man, in the acceptance and practice of which creed we are encouraged and helped by the historic figure of Jesus Christ." But he himself in the end identifies the gospel with a particular theological tradition: virgin birth, incarnation expressed not as a religious faith concerning God in Christ but as adherence to the "assumption" of human "nature" in the traditional "two nature" doctrine, and the Trinity as "the only all-comprehensive Christian dogma." As to virgin birth he is not certain that it is necessarily involved in the idea of the incarnation, but he quotes N. P. Williams as saying: "*If* at any future time an *ostrakon* or a papyrus leaf is unearthed which proves beyond the shadow of a doubt that Jesus was the son of Joseph, I shall frankly admit that catholic Christianity has tumbled down with a crash." And Micklem adds, "I am near to him here."

Significant, too, is his acceptance of the traditional idea that there could not have been a real human personality in Jesus, since that would have meant a fallen and sinful personality. There was thus an impersonal human nature whose center, or *hypostasis,* was very God himself. To some of us it will seem that this particular theory of the incarnation ends at this point with a denial of incarnation. God does not become man, there is no true *Menschwerdung,* only the "assumption" of a "psychological constitution." But if that is true, we are driven to say, in the words of the church fathers, what is not assumed is not held. What we are concerned about is that God can enter, not this abstraction called human nature, but the total human life, the human personality, the center of the human

will. The problem is that of salvation, as the early church fathers very well knew, and the kind of salvation. When you revive the christology that deals with impersonals, such as nature and substance and essence, then you must take the next step and accept a concept of salvation that depends on sacramentarianism, and a "high" doctrine of the church. If, on the contrary, your orientation is Hebrew-Christian, with the prophetic conception of a personal-ethical God, then you have salvation as right personal relation with God and moral transformation, with a clear word that can be spoken to the urgent social needs of our day.

Dr. Micklem's book should have thoughtful reading. It is an admirable essay in religious thinking. Many of us will find ourselves at one with him in his point of departure and his basic purpose. For us, too, Christianity means more than an idealistic philosophy representing our human interpretation of the cosmos, or a human effort working in conjunction with an impersonal process and made over into a religion by spelling process with a capital P or by abstracting some aspect of the process and calling it God. We believe that there is a word of God to man, that the word is not communicated idea but divine action, that the supreme deed of God which means at once revelation and redemption is Jesus Christ. We believe that there is needed a new appreciation of the historic tradition, and that the restatement of our common conviction is the very first task which lies before the church if it is to do its work in the world. The deep earnestness of the writer, the competent scholarship, the fresh and vigorous thinking unite to make a book of value for our day, even if we do not conclude that the "catholicism of the Word" involves the particular theology toward which the writer is moving.

HARRIS FRANKLIN RALL.

A World Balance of Power?

EAST AND WEST: CONFLICT OR COOPERATION? *Edited by Basil Mathews. The Association Press, $1.75.*

EAST and West have ceased to be two worlds and have become a part of a world process. A group of careful students of world problems have attempted to interpret the present situation and set forth the probable effects of present ferments on the future relations of the two hemispheres. They realize that material contacts and spiritual alienation may exist side by side. The West has never understood the East very well. The East probably understands the West better because such numbers of Oriental leaders have had Western contacts.

The European balance of power has long been an outstanding factor in world movements. Now we have a new alignment in which the balance of power becomes a world phenomenon. A new world requires a new world order, with the rule of law between nations. The concept of a new world order to be created by social effort must be worked out by the Orient, which has thought of man as the plaything of forces with which he cannot cope, and by the West which has sought mastery over forces.

Increasing mechanization and industrialization with the growth of a new proletariat have disrupted old conditions both in the East and in the West. There is therefore a constant process of disorganization and reorganization with revolutionary personalities coming to the forefront. Not only on a national scale, but on a world scale, conflicting forces at present get organized in terms of dispossessed and possessors, so that a part of the problem of reorganizing our world on a satisfactory basis involves sharing of resources and of opportunity.

A new factor in the whole ferment is the life of Eastern women who, because of the influence of revolutionary ideas from the West, are gradually becoming a major factor in the changing East and the changing world. Oriental women have quickly moved from a position of isolation to one of considerable leadership in national and world affairs.

The Christian mission in Asia, represented by some twenty-five to thirty thousand missionaries, is the greatest propaganda in all history. Although in recent years it has declined somewhat, it is evident that this movement has had a profound influence. It has stimulated education, created a new medical service, and influenced family life. It has helped to train many of the great leaders of national movements, and not least important, perhaps, has helped to bring into being new movements in the non-Christian religions themselves.

Beneath the differences in manners, customs, standards of living, and outlook upon life, religious fellowships are helping to bring East and West together in common understanding. More training should be given in international affairs and the most thorough preparation should be made for those international gatherings in which members of the East and West are brought together on the basis of a common interest. Something like a Christian international is one of the needs of such a world as ours.

L. FOSTER WOOD.

The Shared Life

MAN'S SEARCH FOR THE GOOD LIFE. *By A. E. Haydon. Harper & Brothers, $2.50.*

ALTHOUGH this book will receive the wide reading it deserves without book reviews adding fulsome praise, this reviewer wants to commend it to believers and skeptics alike. Written in the finest prose, it is a living document in religion; and this because its author habituates the sanctuaries of the world, past and present. His is an open-eyed reverence, a critically keen appreciation, and a chastely honest appraisal of what he encounters therein.

The first two chapters review the various ways in which men have tried to write the history of religions. The third chapter presents a keen analysis of the nature of religion and contains the author's own position which is, briefly, this: (1) man is animated by desire drives which seek fulfillment under some concept of the good life; (2) this fulfillment can be achieved only when it is clearly seen that the good life is a shared life in which the values that make life good are guaranteed to all men.

The next three chapters are valuable discussions of the ideal, techniques and world-view of early religions. The primitive dancing around the totem-symbol is seen to be organically related to the modern who bows before the miracle of the mass or who weaves subtle theological doctrines into creedal affirmations. Both are seeking the good life: the first in this world; the latter, usually, in the next. But even the good life in the next world is eminently social; it guarantees peace, happiness, presence of loved ones, absence of pain, and reward of righteousness to all who achieve it whether through belief, faith or works. The beating heart of religions, their essence if you please, is the search for the good life. Every religious value is at the same time some other kind of value—economic, political or cultural.

Dr. Haydon argues that the two epoch-making mistakes of religions have been the creation of the concept "spirit," and acceptance of the "supernatural" as custodian of the spiritual interests of man.

The closing chapters deal with the reasons why religions are ineffective today and discuss what must be done. Whereas religions took all the interests of primitive man and wove

them into a warm, satisfying, unifying pattern of life which guaranteed the goods of life to all who accepted the sanctions of the group, the world religions of today, excepting Confucianism and possibly Islam, have expended their energies painting alluring pictures and demonstrating the rational coherence of heavens of eternal bliss while all about them the secular energies of life—art, science, business, politics—have indulged in a riotous carnival of individualism. Unless and until religion can recapture its synthetic function, its inability to ameliorate social maladjustments and these maladjustments themselves must rapidly grow more pronounced. Man faces an unknown, uncharted future. He cannot avoid demonstrating to his own dismay (not to mention disaster) that he is but the incidental product of universal forces unless religion can gather the secular enterprises into an organic unity and make them once more contributory to the good, the shared life.

Less attention to the past, then; more realistic analyses of the present; a courageous insistence that every enterprise and interest of man serve in the quest and lay its fruits for consecration on the altar of the good life—this is the task of modern leadership in religion.

It is unfair to expect the author to explore the controversial issues raised in the book. In the spirit, then, of indicating serious work yet to be done, three matters must be noted: (1) There is an inadequate recognition of the realism of theology. Far from expending all its energies in painting pictures of social values on the cloud-banks of a fantastic world, it has endeavored to relate a philosophy of value to the needs and problems of human life. Its creedal affirmations have had mutually sustaining relationships with ethical codes and social institutions such as family and state. (2) Science, so far from routing theology, has actually both borrowed from and contributed to it. Burtt's *Metaphysical Foundations of Modern Science* describes the borrowings while the various philosophies of religion of Whitehead, Bergson, Lyman and Oman are eloquent testimonials to the contributions. (3) Strictly speaking, "gods" are never human creations. Ideas of gods are, but the superhuman factors denoted by the concept are not. The metaphysical implications of "desire drives" and "desire fulfillment" in terms of a profounder integration of individual and group, of ideality and actuality—all of which involves superhuman activities or functions of Nature, of which man is an organic part—yield promising grounds for a naturalistic theism.

HAROLD BOSLEY.

A Believer in the Elite

ANARCHY OR HIERARCHY. *By Salvador de Madariaga. The Macmillan Company, $2.50.*

THIS provocative, well-written volume represents a distinguished liberal thinker's diagnosis of democracy's ills and his prescription for saving European civilization, which is regarded as the creation of the middle class, from chaotic communism and destructive fascism. Fanatically hostile to democracy, these "mass movements, as impressive as geological progressions, rise in threatening waves over Europe in utter contempt of any of the real values for which Europe stands in history as a continent apart." But liberty and democracy need not perish from the earth if only the liberal nations will courageously and understandingly mend their ways.

Madariaga is known as a versatile writer on literature, Spanish civilization, national characteristics and international problems. Journalist, author, professor at Oxford, official of the League of Nations, ambassador of the Spanish republic, his experience has been broad and varied. He is an ardent admirer of English institutions, having married an English woman and made England his adopted country. In outlook he is a conservative liberal, in the European sense of the term, and an internationalist like the eighteenth century intellectuals. Although the greater part of his book belongs to the realm of philosophy and political theory, the style is captivating, and the reader must take care lest he fall under the spell of pleasant-sounding words.

Of the five chapters, two are concerned with a criticism of traditional democratic concepts and methods, two deal at length with the principles and structure of the ideal commonwealth, and the last outlines concisely what its political machinery should be. At the outset Madariaga rejects the revolutionary ideas of liberty, equality and popular sovereignty. That liberty should be understood to mean individual sovereignty, slightly limited for the sake of the state, is absurd and dangerous. The pernicious doctrine of equality has caused natural differences in men and intangible factors in human life to be ignored, and has generated the baneful practice of rotation in office.

Popular sovereignty, moreover, is a shibboleth. Actually, candidates are secretly selected by party leaders, and the majority of voters merely decide which of two groups shall hold office. Every government is an oligarchy, in the sense that a few men are in control. But the exercise of popular sovereignty and universal suffrage, far from securing government by those best qualified to govern, brings the politician down to the level of the ignorant, volatile mob, and causes the degeneration of political institutions. These evils have been greatly intensified by the development of individualistic capitalism; for selfish private interests, still proclaiming laissez faire, influence governmental operation, and financial magnates control the state as well as industry. It is time that the state be reconstructed in the form of organic democracy.

As a basic principle, it is set forth that the individual, seeking happiness through experience, possesses the attribute of finality. But his liberty is concerned with human values, while in the matter of essential functions he must serve the state. Private initiative should be the basic principle of economic enterprise, limited in the interest of effective government. The state is responsible for its own functioning, for directing economic activities, and for promoting the development of culture. In these realms, therefore, it should be authoritarian.

The framework of organic democracy cannot be considered without reference to the social structure, which has been determined by natural law. At the top is the aristocracy, the group of leaders possessing creative intuition, occupying their position by virtue of their inherent superiority. Next is the bourgeoisie, a class of intelligent professionals, technicians and administrators, liberal conservative in outlook, who constitute the backbone of the state. The third class is the peasantry, ignorant of political life, preserving the peculiar characteristics of the nation. As for workmen in industry, they are not a class. The skilled laborers gravitate toward the bourgeoisie; the unskilled laborers and the incompetent form the proletariat, a hybrid mass having no distinct social function. This theory of natural law is not plausible, and the author's appeal to psychology and history is unconvincing.

What is his specific plan for organic democracy? Briefly, there should be a guild organization of industries, with a national guild assembly to help direct economic activity. But banking and the basic industries must be subjected, in varying degree, to control by the state. A small economic council would be appointed to initiate appropriate legislation. Only citizens of proved public-mindedness might vote for municipal councils and indirectly elect the parliament, to which the

cabinet would be responsible. At every point the middle class would exercise control. Just how the financiers and industrialists are to be deprived of their power, or the agrarian and laboring groups persuaded to relinquish their political privileges and constitutional rights, is not clear. Madariaga offers some stimulating criticisms and suggestions, but the reviewer cannot accept his philosophy as sound nor his solution as either desirable or practicable.

G. Leighton LaFuze.

The Origin and Meaning of Cathedrals

The Heritage of the Cathedral. *By Sartell Prentice. William Morrow and Company, $3.50.*

IN THE COURSE of European travel, Americans are constantly faced with churches, each forming a link in the development of ecclesiastical architecture. At first these travelers find the experience interesting, but being on the whole somewhat hazy about European history they find it boresome and monotonous before the trip is over. Failing to remember the background out of which these structures came, they soon tire of continually getting in and out of cars "just to see another church." Back of this impatience is a lack in understanding of what the cathedral represents. Many books have been written concerning the Middle Ages, more prominent among them Emile Male's three volume *L'Art du Moyen Age,* but such books represent lengthy detailed material for the scholar. The need of a book for a larger reading public prompted Mr. Prentice to supply it. He intends it for the traveler "whether we go by earth, or air, or sea, or only along the flickering trails of our own firesides." It is not for the scholar. In a sense the author gives us the cream of medieval art research as separated by his own imagination and experience.

In the preface Mr. Prentice states that he spent twelve years collecting the material—a very believable statement as we read on. Each idea he seems to have fondled as a mental offspring. Dividing his approach into two parts, the historical and the archeological, he proceeds to show us how the various parts of the cathedral came to be. He begins with the chapter "Voices of the Cathedral" in which the cathedral is shown as containing the story of medieval life. He sees in the development, from the early Christian basilical form based on the Roman basilica to the classic nineteenth century Madeleine in Paris, the completion of a cycle in which paganism is both beginning and end. This is true with respect to the architectural form only, for he does remember that within the Madeleine we find the statues of Christian saints, the burning oil, candles and the chanting of priests.

Carrying his story to prehistoric times Mr. Prentice shows us how the rude beginnings of primitive architecture laid the foundations for our treatment of the frieze, rounded apse, and capital and base of a column. He acknowledges our debt to the religious beliefs of primitive man for the cloister and atrium. Likewise the use of the holy water basin finds its origin in an old superstition of being cleansed before entering the sacred precinct. The altar rail originating in the strict separation of priest and laity, the bells beginning with their use for exorcizing evil spirits, towers going back to times when churches needed military protection—each represents a chapter in the story. Finally the iconography is shown as telling us the history of the church, the stories of the saints, in the naive spirit of the time.

The task Mr. Prentice undertook is a dangerous and difficult one—difficult because of the still unsolved problems which cannot be entirely ignored, and dangerous because of the liabilities of sentimental subjectivism. But the author succeeds extraordinarily well in avoiding these pitfalls. The book is rich with illustrations, many of them familiar to the reader. In short Mr. Prentice has contributed a beautiful book interpreting for us rather completely all the features of the cathedral in terms of their historical origin.

Jane Morrison.

Von Hugel

Baron Friedrich von Hugel, A Study of His Life and Thought. *By Maurice Nédoncelle. Translated by Marjorie Vernon. Longmans, Green & Company, $3.00.*

STUDENTS of the philosophy of religion have, for nearly thirty years, been acquainted with at least some of the major works of Baron Friedrich von Hügel, the eminent Catholic layman and English philosopher who, though 73 years of age, died all too soon in 1925. The publication, in 1908, of von Hügel's two volumes on *The Mystical Element of Religion as Studied in Saint Catherine of Genoa and her Friends* made the baron almost overnight a figure of scholarly importance far beyond his native England as well as far beyond the boundaries of the Catholic Church. This wide interest has increased with the years, fed as it has been by other important contributions from the baron's pen.

It is nevertheless unquestionably true that too many religious leaders and readers are still familiar only with the baron's name rather than with his works and ideas. The appearance of Maurice Nédoncelle's study of Baron Friedrich von Hügel's "life and thought," both in the original French as well as in English translation is, therefore, much to be welcomed. It is true that M. Nédoncelle writes frankly as a Roman Catholic priest, and that the volume carries the official imprimatur of the Catholic hierarchy. But this makes the volume no less welcome or valuable even to Protestant readers. For Nédoncelle has succeeded admirably in presenting not only a vivid and sympathetic account of the life and major activities and interests of a truly great modern saint, but also an intelligent, even though at points critical, description of the Baron's religio-philosophical thought.

The volume is particularly valuable in giving to the—too often uninitiated—Protestant reader a fair insight into the so-called "modernist controversy" which rocked the Catholic Church in Europe in the early part of the twentieth century, a controversy in which von Hügel played a not inconspicuous part. The book is further to be welcomed for its clear portrayal both of the intellectual vigor with which this great Catholic thinker attacked the problems of science, religion and philosophy and also of the grand spiritual insight of this intellectual mystic. For von Hügel was just that: a first-rate philosophical intellectual and scholar, and also a devout and deeply spiritual mystic. If any reader should question the possibility of the same person's achieving genuine greatness in both of these regards, he is urged not merely to read Nédoncelle's book, but to read the writings of von Hügel himself. One may find himself at variance with many specific doctrines accepted or conclusions reached by the baron. But no unbiased reader can withhold from him his admiration both in the realm of philosophical scholarship and in that of spiritual insight and life. To have brought out, on almost every page, this splendid and unusual combination in the life and work of von Hügel is one of the major merits of this study.

The reviewer gladly acknowledges that M. Nédoncelle has ably achieved the aim he had set himself in the writing of this book, namely to serve "as a guide-book to a rich though rather obscure country: as a map to indicate the route: as a running commentary to awaken desire and stimulate curiosity."

It is most earnestly to be hoped that readers of this "study" will go from it to the original source itself.

The translator is to be commended for having provided the English reader with a good readable translation into idiomatic English. The book is enriched by a beautiful frontispiece of the aged philosopher and made still more useful by a complete index of von Hügel's writings as well as by an index of some proportions of articles and books dealing with the baron's works.

PAUL ARTHUR SCHILPP.

Our National War Policy

THE TRAGIC FALLACY, A STORY OF AMERICA'S WAR POLICIES. *By Mauritz A. Hallgren. Alfred A. Knopf, $4.00.*

THIS CRITICAL SURVEY of our national defense policy reveals that against its will America is being prepared for another war abroad. With an irrefutable wealth of documentation, out of the mouths of our generals and admirals themselves, the author shows that the billion dollars we are spending this year on military preparations is not intended for defense but for aggression far from home. Senator Nye says: "Disclosures of the kind Hallgren brings forth would, in other lands, be followed by resignations of governments."

In careful detail, the author demonstrates how every essential policy of the pre-war German high command has been taken over by the American military hierarchy. Through the words of the highest military experts, he shows how completely outmoded are the concepts of mass conscript armies to which our "unburied dead" militarists are committed. In one amazingly clear chapter he proves beyond possible doubt that neither Japan, Great Britain nor Germany could successfully invade our shores if a fraction of the money and thought now put into preparations for foreign war were applied to our neglected coast defenses. He then outlines what our preparations for aggression are and the main lines which they follow.

With equal thoroughness, in another section he examines our navalists. He shows with words from their own mouths that our makers of naval policy, with their fixation on huge impotent battlecraft, are dominated by the nineteenth century imperialism of Admiral Mahan, whom American exponents of sea power discovered and took to their bosoms after he had been taken up and then rejected by European naval minds. The real purpose behind this aggressive "triumphant navalism" is also war far from home, probably in Japanese waters. Basing his careful estimates on our experience in transporting the A.E.F. to France, Mr. Hallgren proves that a commercial fleet of "at least 23,000,000 tons" would be required to transport the needed men to Asia. In spite of the fact that Mr. Roosevelt and his sycophantic admirals have started pouring government money into the construction of this auxiliary fleet, it remains an impossible dream of the disordered minds of power-drunk romanticists.

After studying the post-war attempts at arms limitation and the reasons they failed, Mr. Hallgren then examines the "suicidal strategy" which at present dominates American militarism and which demands that "the American navy would have to be at least twice as big as the present British fleet and more than three times as strong as the present Japanese fleet." He then sets this strategy alongside the Roosevelt-MacArthur-Quezon policy of universal conscription in the Philippines and shows how this move also dovetails into the pattern of Asiatic war. Instead of defense, our admirals still dream with dead Mahan of world empire, while an unjust society shuts other people with delusions far less fatally fantastic in lunatic asylums.

The second half of the book studies the civil side of the amazing post-war growth of American militarism. "The American people might not want to go to war . . . but the people of America will have no voice in the matter." He shows that while power to make war theoretically lies in the hands of Congress, actually it resides with the president and "it has been exercised by presidents of the United States upon at least sixty occasions." In spite of both Senate and Supreme Court, "the president and his military and diplomatic advisers are to all practical purposes unhampered in the conduct of the military and foreign affairs of the government. They are at liberty to administer these affairs in such a manner as may involve the country in another war."

Hallgren then shows how easily government control of propaganda channels can crush out the usually dominant pacifism of America, and how "lobbyists in uniform" supplemented by politicians who give kind words to peace and rich appropriations to war are working to this end. He then carefully studies our economic unbalance and shows why it moves the nation toward war, and how all our recent gestures in the direction of neutrality will probably have the same sad fate as that which overtook the Kellogg-Briand pact. He recalls to our minds that the essential structure of American imperialism remains unimpaired and that the danger that we are likely to be drawn into other people's wars is not nearly so great as that we will fall into further wars of our own. "American political leaders, no less than the terrible Europeans and the despised Japanese, are actively preparing for war on a mammoth scale." After showing that Japan is probably the chosen foe, he devotes the last section of the book to the pattern of totalitarian military dictatorship which has clearly been outlined in the officially approved Industrial Mobilization Plan and which will "undoubtedly refuse to dissolve itself at the conclusion of the international fighting" if there is any unrest at home.

It is impossible to exaggerate the importance of this book. William T. Stone of the Foreign Policy Association says it should "be required reading for every senator and congressman before the next billion dollar defense budget is sent to Capitol Hill." Everybody knows that our statesmen read only what they are compelled to read. I would therefore suggest that peace study groups of every description use this book as the basis of an intelligence test on America's present war policies and retire from Washington every politico who cannot prove that this book has lifted his mind to the level of common sense and his patriotism to the point where he will stake his political future on an effort to recapture our government from militarists whose energies today all center on another foreign war.

HAROLD E. FEY.

Meditation Rightly Used

LIVING RELIGION. *By Hornell Hart. The Abingdon Press, $1.50.*

IN Goethe's *Faust* we read the words, "Gray are all theories, and green alone life's golden tree." Without the slightest distortion of this thought it could be given a direct applicability to the fundamental problems of literary criticism. The value of a book can be measured in terms of life. In no field of thought is a conglomeration of life-detached theories of any particular merit. On the other hand, a book that has to do with the practical issues of living possesses the primary quality of worth. To an exceptional degree this volume by Dr. Hart is described by its title. The somewhat cumbersome subtitle, "A Manual for Putting Religion into Action in Personal Life and in Social Reconstruction," is even more definitely descriptive. The work has emerged from the

teaching of social economy at Bryn Mawr College, from teaching social ethics and meditation at Hartford Theological Seminary, and specifically from participating in the conference of the United Christian Adult Movement at Lake Geneva. Although the book as a whole is highly readable, it is essentially material for discussion groups.

The first chapter is entitled, "Transformed Lives and a Transformed World," and the last is "The Ideal Church." Other subjects discussed are "Christian Codes of Conduct," "Working Relations with Spiritual Reality," "Capitalism, Christ and the Church," "God, and Love between Men and Women" and "Spiritual Methods of Grappling with Social Problems." These titles give an adequate idea of the general range of the book, which is highly comprehensive in the inclusiveness of the aspects of life which it discusses. It contains hundreds of practical discussion questions and workable suggestions for the enrichment of life.

There are numerous projects and directions in regard to meditation. Some of these instructions are exceedingly specific. Although in most instances this definiteness is a virtue rather than a fault, one occasionally wonders if the author is not overdoing the matter in this regard. For example, some of the relaxation exercises given in detail in Chapter III are of dubious value. In 1926 Dr. Hart became a member of the Society of Friends and later was recorded as a minister of that body. For generations the Quakers have laid special stress upon meditation. This "Friendly" influence looms large in Dr. Hart's discussions. One of the outstanding values of this book is that it gives all of us an insight into an art which one group has utilized with high effectiveness for spiritual enrichment.

The chapters without exception are rich in suggestion. This sample is taken from the chapter on "Triumph through Suffering." It appears under the sub-heading of "Meditation on Personal Financial Difficulties." The author suggests that one ask himself the following questions and others of a similar nature: "What is it that I really want? Is it security and abundant income for myself? Is it protection and comfort for my loved ones? Is it justice and prosperity for the world at large?" In the same chapter there is a section devoted to "Meditation to Find Power to Correct One's Character Defects." Among the questions asked are these: "Do you lose your temper? Are you apt to be jealous? Are you cowardly? Do you find yourself saying things that are not honest? Are you shy? Do you talk too much? Do you allow yourself to become depressed? . . . Pick out that one of these defects of which it is the most important to get rid."

This book has exceptional possibilities of usefulness for discussion groups. It is, nevertheless, probable that it will be of even greater value to individual readers. To some, contact with it will mark a new epoch in the mastery of the difficult art of right living.

LEWIS H. CHRISMAN.

The World's Present Choice

FORCE OR REASON. *By Hans Kohn. Harvard University Press, $1.50.*

USING as a subtitle, "Issues of the Twentieth Century," Professor Kohn has given us in this book a fresh orientation to the real problems before us. The critical issues he designates as the cult of force, the dethronement of reason, and the crisis of imperialism. Anyone who will ponder this volume with care will experience an ideological clarification which might be missed in more extended and less pointed treatments of the contemporary situation.

One of the especial strengths of Professor Kohn's discussion is his sure grasp of divergent but related sources for modern thought. For example, in speaking of the cult of force and its connection with fear he writes illuminatingly of the roles played by Barth, Martin Heidegger and Kierkegaard. Later, he says in an encouraging mood that "the essential progress of the last one hundred and fifty years lies, in my opinion, in three . . . directions—towards the equality of man, towards a more general participation of everybody in the fullness and opportunities of life, and towards a refinement and humanization of our mores. In all these three fields we are very far from the goal, but we have gone farther toward it than any preceding period." Then, too, one of Professor Kohn's specialties is imperialism, the complexities of which he analyzes with a facile and authoritative judgment.

Of particular interest in his clear appraisal of the "totalitarian crisis" is what he calls the "discrepancy between reality and our inner life." Here, Professor Kohn feels, is a problem which must be solved. And our chance to make the fundamental choice between force and reason is the theme which runs through this book. In the tumult of today this sane and pertinent little book deserves a wide reading.

A. BURNS CHALMERS.

The Bomber or Civilization?

HUMANITY, AIR POWER AND WAR. *An Essay Upon International Relations. By Captain Philip S. Mumford. London: Jarrolds.*

AN UPSURGE of profound gratitude for the three thousand miles of Atlantic Ocean separating us from the "United Hates of Europe" is the first and dominant reaction after reading this book. The author, Captain Philip S. Mumford, was an officer in the British army and the Royal Air Force for fourteen years. He is a recognized authority on the place and influence of aviation in the field of international relations today, and his study is supported by careful documentation.

The significance of the progress in military aviation since the close of the war is not generally realized. During the entire war about 300 tons of bombs were dropped from the sky; at the present time European planes are capable of dropping 600 tons in twenty-four hours, which means that the bombing plane is three thousand times more effective than in 1918. An incendiary thermite bomb has been developed weighing about two pounds. A single plane could scatter three or four hundred of these over a city, starting fires with which under favorable weather conditions no fire department could cope. Thermite burns through steel and through the floors of buildings, so that so-called fireproof construction is no protection against it, and the fire of the bomb itself cannot be quenched by water.

Another policy to be followed in the next war probably will be the drenching of certain areas with poison gas, such as the vital centers of food distribution, railway yards, docks and market centers, in order to produce starvation among the masses. Armies and navies will have only slight significance, for the attack will strike at the civil population with every means of terror that science can devise, for the purpose of breaking down morale, and forcing the people to demand that their government sue for peace.

The key fact to be kept in mind is that since the air is illimitable, no effective defense is possible. As Air Marshall Sir H. R. M. Brooke-Popham stated: "Fighting in the air on a large scale only takes place by accident or mutual consent." The only sort of defense seriously proposed is a counterattack, which means in effect that the governments of Europe propose to carry out the mutual and simultaneous destruction of one another's populations. A quotation from Stanley Baldwin is in point: "I think it is well for the man in the street to

realize that there is no power on earth that can protect him from being bombed."

The author deals with the objection that nations would refrain from bombarding one another's capitals because of this very certainty of reprisals, which would lead to mutual wholesale extermination. He is willing to concede the possibility that public opinion in the various countries may prevent the most drastic methods being used at the beginning of a conflict, but not over a long period. "Nations still feel," he says, "that their entire national existence is at stake, and it is absurd to argue that the nation with its back to the wall, whose political leaders are facing the possibility of defeat, will refrain from using every possible weapon in its most destructive and efficacious manner."

Captain Mumford then asks what motives furnish the chief incentive to the individual soldier—as distinguished from his government—to sustain his morale and make him willing to fight. To protect their homes, wives and children, is the answer—and sweethearts, he might have added. But the aeroplane has removed this incentive—though the general public does not yet know it. Armies will be entrenched against each other, but planes will sail right over their heads and blow to fragments the loved ones whom the soldiers think they are defending. The discovery of the consequent futility of armies to defend a population will, in the author's opinion, cause the complete disruption of military discipline on both sides, and the overthrow of the respective governments as a protest against the tragic results of their shortsightedness. Meanwhile European civilization will have been destroyed, and the outlook will be for even cruder types of fascist dictatorships to arise than those Europe has to endure at the present time.

The solution proposed is threefold: first, abolition of national military air forces. On this point he would not temporize or quibble; all existing air forces should be disbanded, both planes and pilots to be made use of according to the other two provisions. Second, the internationalization of civil aviation. This plan he considers preferable in many respects to that of mere international control of aviation. Planes, aerodromes, and pilots would all be brought under the control of an international corporation. There would still remain the possibility of a nation commandeering the civil planes within her borders at any time, and using them for aggression against a then defenseless neighbor country. Against this eventuality is proposed the third feature of the plan, namely an international air police force under the aegis of the League of Nations. This would then be the only military air force in the world, and charged with enforcing the decrees of the world court against any recalcitrant nation. The author has Europe primarily in mind, and lets his imagination run wild to the extent of envisioning the United States of Europe become a reality through the good offices of this International Air Police Force.

Not the least interesting section of the book is that dealing with the air commission at Geneva in 1932, which formed a part of the disarmament conference. At that time "internationalization of all aviation and abolition of national air forces was openly adopted as the desired goal by the delegates of France, Spain, Poland, Belgium, Holland, Norway, Sweden, Czechoslovakia, Jugoslavia and Turkey; while outside Europe, the United States, Canada, Argentina and Japan offered drastic supervision of their transport aviation to supplement the European scheme." A scathing indictment is brought against the author's fellow countryman, Lord Londonderry, at that time British secretary of state for air, on two counts: first, that he failed to provide the bold moral leadership that the world had a right to expect of Great Britain; second, he it was who deliberately wrecked the plans mentioned above, and coolly boasted about it in Parliament three years later, using the words: "He had the utmost difficulty at that time [1932] amid the public outcry, in preserving the use of the bombing aeroplane."

This book is Captain Mumford's effort at this late day to arouse the British public especially to repudiate Lord Londonderry's policy, and even now to make amends by assuming leadership in Europe, and working toward the adoption of the plan proposed. If the solution be called utopian and impractical, he reminds us again of the fateful consequences of having no plan at all, and challenges objectors to propose a better one.

DAVIS P. MELSON.

Books in Brief

CHURCH AND STATE. *A Headline Book. The Foreign Policy Association, 8 West 40th Street, New York, 35 cents.*

To the remarkable series of illustrated booklets on the vital problems of contemporary life which the F. P. A. has been putting out as "Headline Books," there is now added this one. It is one of the best in the series, as can well be understood when it is known that the series' editor, Ryllis Alexander Goslin, had the help of a committee of consultants made up of William Adams Brown, Samuel McCrea Cavert, Henry S. Leiper, Henry P. Van Dusen and John Bennett. In the main the treatment is historical. It is beyond all question *the* book with which to introduce this inescapable issue to a study group in a church school or forum.

A VENTURE OF FAITH. *By Sir Francis Younghusband. E. P. Dutton & Company, $3.00.*

The man who led the British expedition to Lhasa is giving the later years of his life largely to an attempt to promote understanding between the faiths. Here he tells of the World Congress of Faiths over which he presided at London last year. Rather than being just a collection of speeches—by a Hindu, by a Confucianist, by a Moslem, and so on—Sir Francis gives a report of the impression made on his own thought by each important participant in the congress. The result is far more stimulating than the usual volume reporting such gatherings.

SHANGHAI, THE PARADISE OF ADVENTURERS. *By G. E. Miller. Orsay Publishing House, New York, $3.50.*

The author is said to be a consul-general still in active service, who consequently writes under a pseudonym. He undertakes to tell the strange sort of things that go on in China's great port city, where the legal confusion created by the overlapping of extraterritoriality, the "sovereignties" of the "international settlement" and the "French concession," and the impingement—such as it is—of Chinese law, serve to produce a situation in which a racketeer or bunco artist of almost any nationality can operate for a long time before legal retribution catches up with him. The writer has been badly advised in trying to present his sensational facts in a sensational style; a rigidly factual report in consular-general manner would have been more effective. But the Shanghai situation is, in sober truth, very bad. It operates overtime to lessen Occidental reputation in Oriental eyes. The anonymous author doesn't like missionaries.

HERE'S MONEY FOR CHURCHES AND SOCIETIES. *By William H. Leach. Cokesbury Press, $1.00.*

The subtitle speaks of this as "Plans that raise money when it's hard to get." Dr. Leach, editor of *Church Management*, is one man who ought to know all about such plans, and his book proves that he does. The best part of it is that

the book is not a hodgepodge of freak schemes to raise money, usually bordering on a racket and often skirting the edges of the illegal, but that it deals in the main with the best methods for handling the financing of churches on a regular, self-respecting and religious basis.

GENEVA VERSUS PEACE. *By the Comte de Saint-Aulaire. Sheed & Ward, $2.50.*

This book was sent for review to one of the professors of modern history in whose judgment we have most confidence. He returns it; the task is too hard, he says, both for the time at his disposal and for his patience. With his declination comes this comment: "One is tempted to think that he [the author] like many of us Republicans and anti-league Americans, is not sorry the league is a failure, but glad. That is the acid test, I think." Count de Saint-Aulaire is a leading member of the French diplomatic service, formerly ambassador in London, and a distinguished representative of the Catholic aristocracy of France.

THE PARABLES OF THE GOSPELS AND THEIR MEANING TODAY. *By Hugh Martin. Abingdon Press, $2.00.*

A very suggestive treatment of the parables primarily aimed at bringing out their contemporary significance and value. This does not mean, however, that the author is not interested in some of the literary and historical problems which the parables suggest and is not aware of the results of modern New Testament research. The book undertakes a task essentially similar to that essayed by Marcus Dods and more recently by George Buttrick, and deserves a place beside these established works. Mr. Martin is the editor and director of the Student Christian Movement Press in England.

Books Received

The New International Year Book, 1936. Funk & Wagnalls, $6.25. An established standard reference book. About all that needs to be said concerning its worth is, "If you want to know how indispensable the Year Book is, ask any editor." Edited by Dr. Frank H. Vizetelly. The price quoted is for the cloth edition; other editions up to full leather at $11.50. 802 pages.

The Rise and Growth of English Hymnody. By Harvey B. Marks. Revell, $2.50. A general survey, with emphasis on the words rather than the music of hymns both ancient and modern. Introduction by H. Augustine Smith.

Nationalism on the Defensive. By Gerald M. Spring. The Arthur H. Clark Company, Glendale, California, $1.50. (To be reviewed.)

The Incredible Messiah: The Deification of Father Divine. By Robert Allerton Parker. Little, Brown & Company, $2.50. (To be reviewed.)

Church and State in the Modern World. The Rauschenbusch Lectures for 1937. By Henry Pitney Van Dusen and others. Harpers, $2.00. (To be reviewed.)

Let God Do It. By Wentworth Byron Winslow. Hermes Publishing Co., no price given. Inspirational addresses with a Christian Science background.

The Civilized Mind. Forest Essays, Second Series. By Lynn Harold Hough. Abingdon, $2.00. (To be reviewed.)

And So—Victoria. By Vaughan Wilkins. Macmillan, $2.50. (To be reviewed.)

The Education That Educates. By Marion E. Cady. Revell, $2.00. The argument maintains that the ancient Hebrews had the most successful of all educational systems; far superior to that of the Greeks.

The History of Primitive Christianity. By Johannes Weiss. Edited by Frederick C. Grant. 2 volumes. Wilson-Erickson, Inc., no price given. (To be reviewed.)

Does Norwegian Labor Seek the Middle Way? By Finn Moe. League for Industrial Democracy, 15 cents. The answer is yes. And the author, editor of leading Norwegian publications, indicates that his country can boast one of the most intelligent labor movements in today's world. If you would like to know what a democratic state looks like when it treats the economic problem as a subject for rational study and experimentation rather than a field of war, this 40-page pamphlet will give you a good idea.

CORRESPONDENCE

From Rabbi Lazaron

[See editorial on page 862.]

EDITOR THE CHRISTIAN CENTURY:

SIR: May I respond to your editorial "Jewry and Democracy"? I have found so much of stimulus and inspiration to my heart and mind in the weekly visit of The Christian Century that I approach this difficult theme as a man would talk with a friend. You have established your right to discuss Jews and Judaism because you have been fearless in submitting your own people and tradition to intimate scrutiny and criticism, because you have again and again raised indignant and prophetic voice against anti-Semitism and have proved the genuineness of your devotion to truth, justice and human brotherhood. I am glad you wrote what you did. It is far better that these issues be raised by friends than by enemies. Were it impossible for Judaism to meet them and on your own ground, it would be a serious indictment indeed.

You charge that because Jews refuse to submit themselves "to the democratic process" and insist on remaining a homogeneous and compact group within the body politic there must always be anti-Semitism, latent or active and at times violent.

It is true that Jews desire to maintain the integrity of their group. Is that not understandable? The more so because Jews are a very small minority. Would you suggest that Christianity liquidate? Does Christianity submit any more readily to the democratic process than Judaism and Jews? Indeed, Christianity itself is a minority. The "majority" in the United States are nonchurched. By your rule, Christianity too should modify itself so that there would be no difficulty between "the Christian life" and the secular unreligious life.

You certainly know that Judaism and the Jew have been transformed by the very democratic process to which you allege they have not submitted themselves. Compare Jewish custom and practice here with Jewish custom and practice abroad. The chasm is wide. Pulpit interchange, common worship, Christian-Jewish collaboration in community and national causes, a sense of our common destiny as believers—where else in the world have these things made the progress they have here? The process of change and adaptation is still going on.

If, on the other hand, you refer to that group of Jews which stands for secular Jewish nationalism, I agree with your criticism. There are Jews who propose a diaspora nationalism. This wave of secular nationalism among Jews in the world is easily understandable. It has been brought about by the tragic circumstances of contemporary Jewish life. I do not agree with the secular Jewish nationalists. May I quote from an address I gave in New Orleans in January before the Union of American Hebrew Congregations:

"Judaism cannot accept as the instrument of its salvation the very philosophy of nationalism which is leading the world to destruction. Shall we condemn it as Italian or German but accept it as Jewish? Long before what we know as nationalism existed, Jewish brotherhood was. And after the fever of nationalism has spent itself, Jewish brotherhood in Torah, our religious tradition, still will be. . . . The world has gone mad on nationalism. Famished peoples seek its emotional intensity as a way out through hate and war. It is of the essence of chauvinistic nationalism to hate the Jew because fundamentally and primarily the Jewish genius is universalistic. In the face of the brutalizing nationalism of our times, we must cry out the universal message of Israel. Not the blood cult, state cult, hate cult, war cult of nationalism, but one humanity on earth as there is one God in heaven. . . . This is no time for retreat when the world is tearing itself to pieces in its denial of God. This is the hour to go forward—forward with other Jews, conservative and orthodox. Forward with those Christians who feel they face with

us a common foe. This is the message of Judaism drawn out of its age-old wisdom and insight."

This, I believe, represents the opinion of the vast majority of Jews here and elsewhere.

We do not desire any special privilege or special favors. We do not ask in America anything other than those rights guaranteed to all American citizens under the Constitution and in the Bill of Rights—no more, no less. We conceive ourselves to be a religious community bound to other Jews throughout the world by the ties which a common historic experience and a common faith have made an instinctive part of us. There is no such thing as a distinctive Jewish culture apart from the religious tradition of Israel. Jews in America, maintaining their religious distinctiveness, must take their chances with the rest of their fellow citizens in the give-and-take of American life.

In what sense, then, do you charge that Jews do not submit themselves to the democratic process? If the spirit and form and content of Judaism are changing under the impact of the American spirit, if Jews desire only the same rights as their fellow citizens—what, then, are you asking Jews to do?

What gives me most concern in your editorial is your interpretation of the democratic process. You say Jews "have no right in a democracy to remove their faith from the normal influences of the democratic process by insulating it behind the walls of a racial and cultural solidarity. . . . A permanent racial status is incompatible with democracy." Since when is democracy totalitarian? What becomes of democracy's proud boast that it protects the right of minorities? How would your conception of democracy differ from the totalitarianism of nazism, fascism or communism? Are you not saying exactly what is being said by the rulers of Germany, Italy and Russia?

May I suggest that you are confusing the democratic process with an emerging American chauvinistic nationalism? And may I point out that that nationalism, if it develops, will be just as totalitarian as the nationalisms abroad and—which is of primary importance to you as a responsible Christian leader—it will be just as inimical to the true spirit of Christianity here as it is abroad? No, it is not an alleged Jewish unwillingness to submit to the democratic process—that process will work tremendous changes in both Judaism and Christianity—but it is the democratic process that is threatened by a growing exaggerated nationalism which will not respect your Christian emphasis upon human personality any more than it will respect the Jewish concern for the same.

You furthermore declare that the root of the trouble is "the Jewish immemorial and pertinacious obsession with an illusion, the illusion that his race, his people, are the object of the special favor of God, who requires the maintenance of their racial integrity and separateness as a medium through which, soon or late, will be performed some mighty act involving human destiny." True you declare "this is a highly generalized statement" which "avoids specific details over which there is a difference of opinion in Jewry itself." But is this any different from the Christian assumption of salvation through Jesus, characteristic of Christian thinking in all its manifestations from the most orthodox to the most liberal Christian? You see, these things work both ways. Tolerance is not, as you declare, "a one-way street."

I should like to disclaim for ourselves any "special favor of God," except the burden of priesthood. Jews never claim any selfish favor or special protection. If they did, our history would discount it. Shall our experience of persecution be called "divine favor"? The phrase "God's chosen people," in the sense in which it is usually used, does not occur to Jews. As one great teacher put it, our destiny is to be not "God's chosen people" but a "God choosing people."

One of the tragedies of Jewish life, as of Christian life, is the secularization of our people. Many Christians have lost their Jesus and many Jews have lost their God. The revitalization of the religious life is the highest task of both groups.

We need no latter-day prophets to rise among us to declare, as you suggest, "that our racial integrity is no more important in God's sight than any other race's integrity." Amos did that for us over two thousand years ago. "Have I not brought up Israel out of the land of Egypt and the Philistines from Caphtor and Arom from Kir?" Indeed, the burden of biblical prophecy was that, for from God's evincing any special protection of Israel, Israel was doomed because of its iniquity and godlessness, just as other peoples who were corrupt. Integrity of character is what God demanded, and more from Israel than from others. We hold that truth today. And let me add it was not Jews who divided humanity into damned and redeemed. For long ago one of our teachers declared "the righteous of all peoples have a portion in eternity."

Look into your own hearts, my friends. You are blazers of trails for American Christendom. Perhaps you are treading on dangerous ground and know it not. You have thrown off the dogmatism of an authoritarian theology. Are you going to take on the shackles of an equally authoritarian nationalism? This is the crux of the whole matter. I for one am perfectly willing to throw Jews and Judaism into the maelstrom of American life, submitting completely to the democratic process, asking for ourselves only those rights that are accorded to all our fellow citizens.

Baltimore, Md. MORRIS S. LAZARON.

The Question Box

If, as you have suggested in your column, there are narratives in the Bible, particularly in the life of Christ, which violate the general principles disclosed in his character and teachings, such incidents, for example, as the cursing of the fig tree, the swine of Gadara, etc., ought not the instances of the anger of Jesus to be given the same interpretation? Are they consistent with his behavior and ideals? P. F. B., Bangor, Mich.

THE only instance recorded in which the anger of Jesus is mentioned is Mark 3:5, where he is said to have "looked around with anger" on his critics who were questioning his right to heal the man with the shrunken hand, on the Sabbath. He is also reported as being indignant that the disciples attempted to restrain the people when they brought their children for his blessing (Mark 10:14); to have spoken indignantly of that "faithless and perverse generation," when the disciples were unable to cure the epileptic boy (Matt. 17:17); and to have shown deep emotion, partly grief and partly vexation, at the despair exhibited by Martha and her friends on the death of Lazarus (John 11:33, 38). The first of these may be less the accurate description of the expression of Jesus than the reflection of the indignation of the unknown sympathizer and partisan who reported the incident. There is no reason why one should question the accounts of Jesus' human moods and emotions, either of joy or sorrow, commendation or disapproval. His character as portrayed in our sources, however, forbids us to think of him as swayed by any sudden anger or petulance. Like all strong natures he possessed the capacity for profound affection, happiness, disappointment, sorrow and wrathful indignation. The classic instance of this last sentiment is found in the terrible indictment of those scribes and Pharisees who betrayed the popular confidence by professional piety coupled with selfishness, arrogance and pretense. As recorded in Matthew 23:13-36 it is charged with the most trenchant moral indignation. These utterances of his employ the plainest speech, the most mordant terms. They have set in the tall pillory of just condemnation such offenses through all the centuries since his day, whether in priest or preacher, leader or layman.

Jesus had no petty resentments against those who treated him rudely. Small natures are likely to flame into momentary wrath at slights, a wrath which is as quickly forgotten. It is only strong characters that are moved with profound and lasting animosity against conditions, movements, institutions or groups that degrade society and endanger the souls of men. On those who opposed his mission with narrow hatred, or on social outcasts such as the publicans and harlots Jesus wasted no words of condemnation. Rather he sought by friendship and sympathy to lead them to a better life. But for those in real danger, the wealthy, the complacent, the cold hearted, the unloving he had words of warning and rebuke, because he trembled for their destiny in this and the future world. Yet even these sentences that must have blistered as they fell were followed in immediate sequence by expressions of pity and regret as Jesus contemplated the sins and the impending fate of the city he loved.

H. L. W.

NEWS *of the* CHRISTIAN WORLD

Pastors Moralize On Steel Strike

New York Preachers See Solution in Voluntary Acceptance of Christian Way—Hearst's American Fails

(Correspondence from New York)

NEW YORK, June 28.—Many preachers here are attempting to deal with the issues of the steel strike and the attendant violence. Without exception the published accounts of these sermons exhibit the moralisms Reinhold Niebuhr has so often held up to scorn. Dr. William Ward Ayer, pastor of Calvary Baptist Church, traced the cause of much of our labor troubles to "our pig-pen philosophy of get and glut, of riot and ruin, of folly and famine." The selfish greed of a capitalistic system," he said, "is being met with lawless demands on the part of labor." His solution was the adoption of the philosophy of Jesus Christ: "Bear ye one another's burdens." "The hope for the prodigal in the pig-pen is that there is an open road back to the father's house." Bishop William F. Anderson of the Methodist Episcopal Church told the congregation of Christ Church that he wondered whether we are embarking upon the thousand-year reign of terror referred to in the Bible. He deplored the "disreputable and loose leadership [of the unions] in Ohio and Michigan," and called selfishness "the blight of Almighty God." Both preachers implied that exhortations to unselfishness would curb the selfishness on both sides of the labor struggle.

* * *

Senator Wagner More Realistic

Senator Robert F. Wagner, speaking over WEVD, was more realistic. It is true that he blamed "a very few large corporations for fighting labor and labor's right to organize" and asserted that "any corporation which declares openly that it will not bargain with any union, which proudly boasts that it will not sign a contract even when its terms are not in dispute, is serving notice upon the whole world that it will not obey the law." But he seemed to find the remedy not in exhortations to the heads of corporations to repent, but in labor organization strong enough to resist their policies.

* * *

Delegation Leaves For Oxford

The exodus of pastors has begun. Large numbers are going abroad, some to have a look at hot spots in Europe; most of them—200 from the country as a whole—to attend the second World Conference on Church, State and Community in Oxford. The chairman of the American group is Dr. William Adams Brown; others in the delegation will be Henry Sloane Coffin, Allan Knight Chalmers, William P. Merrill, John R. Mott, John H. McCracken, Samuel Trexler, W. Russell Bowie, Reinhold Niebuhr, Samuel McCrea Cavert, Elmore McNeill McKee, John A. Mackay and Walter W. Van Kirk. Many will attend also the second decennial World Conference on Faith and Order in Edinburgh, beginning August 3. It must be admitted, however, that the major interest here is in Oxford rather than Edinburgh, possibly because it is less discouraging to fail to reform the community where the community shares the blame for the failure than to fail to reform the church where the church alone is at fault.

* * *

Norwood Popular At Riverside

Among the supply preachers in town Frederick W. Norwood at the Riverside Church is easily the most popular. He is also the most persuasively evangelical. About a year ago Dr. Norwood resigned his pulpit at City Temple, London, to be evangelist extraordinary for the Free Church Council of Great Britain, of which he was formerly president. In the summer, he says, no missions of consequence can be carried on in England; so he is having a try at New York, and the large congregations that have come out to hear him at Riverside in the morning and at Holy Trinity, Brooklyn, in the evening have been the result. He is master of simple pictorial enlargement of Bible stories. On one occasion he summarized the whole of John. His art is so skillful as to seem easy. A condemnatory reference to dictators was converted by the prejudice of some listeners at Riverside into a veiled attack upon Roosevelt, but on the whole he skirts the contentious problems of society. He finishes his term for Fosdick on July 11.

* * *

Gains in Church Membership

The *Christian Herald* has published its annual figures of church membership. The net membership gain for the year was 1.33 per cent. The *Herald* submitted its statistical findings "as a direct contradiction of the pessimists who claim the churches have lost ground." Among the surprises is a gain of 38,000 for the Unitarians as compared to 21,000 for the Episcopalians and 6,000 for the Presbyterians. These figures are not likely to dispel the pessimism here, however.

* * *

Hearst's American Goes Under

Considerable rejoicing among liberals (and conservatives) has attended the demise of Hearst's New York *American*. This morning paper which is reputed to have lost a million dollars last year will be merged with Hearst's *Evening Journal*. Only 48 hours notice was given to the 2,800 employees, a few of whom will be placed on the two remaining Hearst papers here. The American League Against War and Fascism claims its persistent campaign of boycott of Hearst was a factor in the failure of the *American*.

* * *

And So Forth

At the ninth annual summer school of Union Theological Seminary, which opens July 12, professors Bewer, Elliott, Frame, Lyman, Moffatt, and Sockman will be on the staff, with H. Richard Niebuhr and Wilhelm Pauck among the distinguished visiting lecturers. A concurrent conference for ministers and other religious workers is also held, July 12-16, 19-23, 26-30.

BRADFORD YOUNG.

D.A.R's Hear Taft On Revolution

American Fathers 'Not Afraid of Being Called Subversive'—School Superintendent Dismissed

(Correspondence from Cincinnati)

CINCINNATI, June 26.—Charles P. Taft of Cincinnati, son of the late president and chief justice, recently appointed to the steel strike mediation board, created quite a sensation when he addressed the Continental Congress of the D.A.R. in Washington, saying in the course of his address to this conservative audience: "The American Revolution was a social movement and its leaders were vigorous young men who were not afraid of being called subversive influences. The Constitution was close to revolutionary in its day. All traditions were once innovations. You cannot get anywhere by damning fascist dictators or painting red networks of communism across every evening sky. Nobody is converted by that process of controversy. . . . Young people hate war with a deep hatred, and they should. They will never admit that it is inevitable. They demand that it be stamped out like disease. They cannot see why 'defense' means protection of foreign trade and foreign investments, and they demand, with some reason I must say, why we should spend a billion and a quarter dollars a year for that defense without any reliable study of what we are defending and how we should do the job."

* * *

Taft to Run for City Council

Mr. Taft is planning to run for city council next fall, which will greatly strengthen the Charter slate. He will probably have the support of both Democratic and Republican organizations, as well as labor and church groups. *News-Week* goes so far as to say that this is the opening gun in a campaign looking toward his nomination for President on the Republican ticket in 1940 or 1944. Whether or not this ever transpires, there are thousands of Cincinnatians who have deep affection and admiration for him, and who will always believe in his high integrity, fairness of mind and Christian purpose.

* * *

Introduce Ministers to Social Work

Dr. William S. Keller has opened the 15th annual session of his summer school, where theological students are given two months of firsthand experience of various types of social work. This summer there are 24 pupils, one of whom is a Japanese woman, Miss Yoshimoto, secretary to Kagawa. The school has always been predominantly Episcopalian, but an interdenominational atmosphere is encouraged and several denominations are now represented.

A by-product of this summer school is the Graduate School of Applied Religion, of which Joseph F. Fletcher is director. This school carries on more intensive and schol-

arly training throughout the year than the summer school is equipped to offer, and it should give impetus to the widespread movement for the social education of young clerics.

* * *

Citizens Disturbed by Dismissal Of School Superintendent

Many thoughtful citizens here are deeply worried by the high-handed action of the Cincinnati board of education in dismissing Edward D. Roberts as superintendent of schools. Dr. Roberts is greatly respected in the community, and it is generally agreed that he has handled a very difficult job exceedingly well. The vote of the board is the more surprising since no adequate reasons were given for it, and the public is left with the disturbing conviction that the action was dictated by political considerations.

* * *

Flood Results in Church Union

One encouraging aspect of the terrible January flood is the union of the Methodist and Presbyterian churches in New Richmond. Bishop H. Lester Smith and Dr. North cooperated with the churches involved, and a most happy arrangement has resulted. The Presbyterian church building and the Methodist parsonage will be used, and the new church will be called the Cranston Memorial, in honor of a former Methodist bishop.

* * *

Red Cross Ends Flood Rehabilitation Work

Speaking of the flood, the Red Cross has closed its rehabilitation service here after five months of labor, expenditures of over $1,600,000, and the relief of over 20,000 families. Under the able direction of Maurice Reddy the work has been efficiently and quietly done. Cincinnati itself contributed nearly $600,000 of the total spent.

* * *

Conscientious Objector Refused Citizenship

The old issue of the naturalization of conscientious objectors came up again here the end of April. Carl Eric Dahlman, a native of Sweden, asserted his allegiance to the Constitution in all other respects but could not affirm his willingness to bear arms whenever he might be ordered to do so. Local authorities are of course powerless to use any discretion in the matter in view of the Supreme Court ruling.

Fred Hoehler, formerly Cincinnati's safety director and at present head of the American Public Welfare Association, told a graduating class here that the preservation of democracy depended upon four factors: (1) universal education, with its full application to contemporary problems; (2) tolerance that is filled with understanding and patience; (3) peace among classes and between nations; and (4) competency in government.

* * *

And So Forth

Jesse Halsey, minister of Seventh Presbyterian Church, was elected president of the Cincinnati Federation of Churches, succeeding George Dunlop of the Church of the Advent.

Three widely known Presbyterian ministers have recently passed away: Charles A. Austin, formerly the pastor of College Hill Church but for the last several years an invalid; Frederick N. McMillin of the First

"There were thousands of children along the road. We counted at least five thousand under ten years of age, at least one thousand of them barefoot and clad only in single garments.

"They staggered and stumbled, with cut and bruised feet, along the white flint road while the Fascists bombed them from the air and from the sea.

"Our car was besieged by a mob of frantic mothers and fathers who with tired, outstretched arms, held up to us their children with their faces swollen and congested by four days of sundust."

SAVE the CHILD VICTIMS *of* FASCISM

"How could we choose between a child dying of dysentery and a mother stolidly watching us with great, sunken eyes, carrying against her open breasts her child born on the road two days before?"

Dr. Norman Bethune,
World famous physician of Canada.
N. Y. Herald-Tribune, Feb. 18th, 1937

MULTIPLY MALAGA A THOUSANDFOLD AND YOU HAVE THE PICTURE OF THE PLIGHT OF HUNDREDS OF THOUSANDS OF SPANISH CHILDREN. THESE CHILDREN MUST BE FED, THEY MUST BE CLOTHED, THEY MUST BE HOUSED IN THE HUNDREDS OF HOMES THE SPANISH GOVERNMENT HAS TAKEN FOR THIS PURPOSE.

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Tonight you will be able to say: *"This day I have saved the life of a Spanish child!"*

The North American Committee to Aid Spanish Democracy—Bishop Francis J. McConnell, *Chairman*; the Rev. Herman F. Reissig, *Executive Secretary*.

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Church, Walnut Hills; and Lewis Earle Lee, pastor of the Delphi church and county secretary of religious education.

The deadlock in the city council has finally been broken and Colonel C. O. Sherrill, Dykstra's predecessor, has again been appointed city manager. This is generally recognized as a sound choice.

WILLIAM H. HUDNUT, JR.

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Persons wishing further information about the Summer Quarter, or about the Pastors' Institute should address Dean S. J. Case, The Divinity School, The University of Chicago; President Albert W. Palmer, The Chicago Theological Seminary; or Dean E. S. Ames, The Disciples Divinity House, Chicago.

Study Needs of 'Hungry' States

University of Chicago Harris Lectures Deal with Colony Problems—Olivet Institute Has New Head

(Correspondence from Chicago)

CHICAGO, June 28.—An interesting and useful conference held during the past week was the 13th institute on "Geographic Aspects of International Relations" held under the auspices of the Norman Wait Harris memorial foundation at the University of Chicago. This foundation is only one of many large gifts made by Mr. Harris either during his life or in his will and is in the form of a trust fund of $150,000 for "the promotion of a better understanding on the part of American citizens of the other peoples of the world, thus establishing a basis for improved international relations and a more enlightened world order." Each year a problem in the field of international relations is selected for study and discussion and authorities from all parts of the world are brought together to direct an intensive week of study with a chosen group of qualified persons.

The Chicago Round Table of Jews and Christians also held its annual Institute of Human Relations during the past week. [This conference is dealt with more fully in special correspondence published in this issue.]

* * *

Find Colony Demands Smoke Screen

The subject for study this year was particularly appropriate in view of the demand for colonies on the part of the "hungry" states, and the consequent threat to world peace. Possibly the most important address was that of President Isaiah Bowman of Johns Hopkins University, chairman of the National Research Council and president of the National Geographic Union, who, on the basis of an exhaustive study of the world's underdeveloped lands, asserted that these lands cannot receive the surplus populations of Europe that would like to migrate. Certain "bottlenecks"—such as lack of railways and other facilities—make it impossible for these areas to absorb these prospective immigrants. The demands of Italy, Germany and Japan that they must have room for their surplus populations, Dr. Bowman described as "smoke screens for trade outlets and political purposes." Other lecturers were Pierre Denis, professor of geography at the University of Buenos Aires and Harlan H. Barrows, chairman of the department of geography at the University of Chicago.

* * *

Name Successor to Dr. Barr At Olivet Institute

Dr. William E. Paul, director of Union City Mission of the Churches of Minneapolis, is to succeed Dr. Norman B. Barr as director of Olivet Institute, and is also to be associate superintendent of the Chicago Presbyterian church extension board in charge of the board's social service and community work throughout the city. Dr. Barr has well earned his rest and travel.

* * *

Midwest Institute Has Notable Program

Beginning today and continuing through July 2 the sixth annual midwest Institute of International Relations will be held at North Central College, Naperville, a nearby suburb of Chicago. Thirteen authoritative speakers will discuss world affairs, among them being several representatives of foreign countries. Dr. T. Z. Koo, leader in Y.M.C.A. and other religious work in China; Dr. Hugo Ferdinand Simon, of Germany; Pierre de Lanux, former director of the Paris office of the League of Nations; Dr. Melchior Palyi, now a guest professor at the University of Chicago, but formerly director of economic research for the Reichsbank, Berlin, will be among the speakers from abroad. Among the American speakers announced are Senator Gerald P. Nye, Dr. Samuel Guy Inman, Josephine Schain, Professor Paul H. Douglas, Professor W. C. Allee, Mr. C. V. Gregory, Dr. Henry J. Cadbury, and Dr. Roswell P. Barnes. President E. E. Rall of North Central College will serve as dean of the institute.

* * *

And So Forth

The strike against the independent steel producers drags on. The LaFollette Civil Liberties commission is investigating the Memorial day riot and killings and has subpoenaed the Paramount moving pictures of the event, which the company had shelved.

The Church of the Good Shepherd (Congregational) is seeking, with the aid of a strong interdenominational and interracial committee, to raise $60,000 to erect a community center for work in the great Negro area which it serves. Dr. Harold M. Kingsley is the pastor of this church.

Yesterday old Third Presbyterian Church began the celebration of its 90th anniversary. The pastor is Rev. A. R. Hickman, who is also moderator of the Chicago Presbytery.

CHARLES T. HOLMAN.

Prof. Erdman Harris Loses Daughter

Dr. and Mrs. Erdman Harris of Union Seminary and Lawrenceville, N. J., have lost their daughter Henrietta, six years old, who was struck by an automobile on June 20 as she was crossing the street near her home.

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Commons Pushes Reform Measures

House Gives Attention to Prisons, Health and Education—J. D. Jones Resigns—Lansbury to Visit Mussolini

(Correspondence from England)

LONDON, June 15.—It is a grateful task to record that the House of Commons has been and will be busy upon many useful projects. Last week I spoke of prison reforms; this week there is good news of the factories bill, which will be more thorough than at one time it seemed likely to be. The minister of health, Sir Kingsley Wood, who was the most enterprising of ministers at the post office, is proving no less alert in his new post. He certainly does not mean to be satisfied with our health returns. It is to the provision for expectant mothers that there is most urgent need of attention. The education minister too is showing that he is not blind to the needs of schools, and progress is being made in the provision of new buildings to replace those marked black in the returns. The problem of home-lessons and the danger which they bring of overstrain, is not being left out of account.

It is interesting to note that Mr. A. P. Herbert, the member for Oxford University, the well known playwright and humorist, speaks highly of the good will which he, confessedly a free lance, has found in the house. His marriage bill, introduced as it was by a private member, was passed—a most remarkable feat. He says, and others agree with him, that the house is ready, when it is left free from party whips, to legislate in a spirit of humanity. It has a quick sense of reality, and knows the true coin from the counterfeit.

* * *

Lansbury to Visit Mussolini

Mr. Lansbury, who recently visited Herr Hitler, has announced that he intends during the summer to visit Signor Mussolini. "I have never met Mussolini," he said at Bristol on Saturday, "but I know of him, and he certainly knows of me. . . . I shall discuss with him war and peace."

* * *

"J. D." Resigns Pulpit

Everyone in this country knows the meaning of these two letters. They at once carry the mind to Bournemouth, where for 40 years Dr. J. D. Jones, to use his own words, "has preached the gospel of the kingdom of God from the Richmond Hill pulpit." He claims to have served Bournemouth by "helping to make good men and women, keeping before them a vision of what God meant life to be." He has left his pulpit now, and will make his home near Bala in Wales. Bournemouth has shown its gratitude and affection for him. At the dinner given in his honor the lord lieutenant of the county, the mayor of the city, the bishop of the diocese and Sir John Simon, the chancellor of the exchequer, were present. Sir John showed how well he knew the nature and power of such ministries; he himself is the son of a Congregational minister. Dr. Jones will still be free to preach and to serve the churches of which he is the acknowledged leader. The writer in the *Manchester Guardian* who signs himself "G. S." has said of him: "Dr. Jones and Dr. Scott Lidgett are probably the last of our great Victorian divines, moving still amongst us with something of the dignity of that age, a dignity arising from the sense of a great calling, not to be carelessly concealed."

* * *

Quakers Lose Gifted Writer

William Fryer Harvey died at Letchworth on June 4 at the age of 52. He will be remembered among Friends for many reasons. He was at one time sub-warden of Fircroft College, Bournville, and in other ways he ministered among his people, being a man of great courage and patience and insight and boundless humor. His health was poor from his youth. After the war his lungs were permanently injured because of an act of which, we are told, he seldom spoke: "In June 1918"—the story is given in the *Friend*—"he performed an operation in a flooded boiler room on a ship in imminent danger of breaking in two and in additional danger from the fumes of escaping oil. He had to be hauled to safety after the operation in a state of collapse." His lungs never recovered from this experience. But though his years were shadowed with ill health, he was able to use his gift as a writer in many ways. Last year he published two books—one for children, *Caprimulgus,* and one (this received a widespread welcome from Friends and from all readers who love books) in which the experiences of childhood are caught and kept with reverence and humor. This book was called *We Were Seven.* It takes the reader into the home of a Quaker family and enables him to understand what life in such a home was like in the days when Queen Victoria was nearing the end of her reign. The Friends give thanks for every remembrance of this brave life.

* * *

Eden Threatens Exclusion of Italian Missionaries

Mr. Eden has told Italy that if it prevents

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British missionaries from opening schools in Abyssinia it will be equally in order for Britain to prevent Italian priests from teaching the races within the British colonies. I imagine that there must be many Italian missions in East Africa, Uganda and Rhodesia.

EDWARD SHILLITO.

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Face Dangers To Democracy

Chicago Round Table of Jews and Christians Considers Current Menaces to Freedom and Peace

(Special Correspondence)

ROCKFORD, ILL., June 24.—The second summer conference of the Institute of Human Relations sponsored by the Chicago Round Table of Jews and Christians closed here today. The sessions were held at Rockford College. Speakers of international reputation discussed the problems of democracy, analyzing those forces which threatened it and suggesting methods of preserving it. General meetings were held in the morning and evening and smaller forums on youth groups, adult and parent education, and on women's organizations met following the morning sessions.

Objectives of Institute

The objectives of the institute were broadly outlined by Dr. Everett R. Clinchy, director of the National Conference of Jews and Christians, in the opening address. They were three: (1) that Jews, Catholics and Protestants on the basis of a common worship of a single God join in combating forces inimical to religious freedom; (2) that in a culturally pluralistic democracy they strive to safeguard the identity of each race and creed; (3) that they learn to work together harmoniously, which will in itself awaken a sense of right direction. The second of these objectives was amplified by Dr. Ernest Fremont Tittle of the First Methodist Episcopal Church, Evanston, in his definition of tolerance. Tolerance, he said, was putting yourself in the other man's position by a creative understanding of and faith in his integrity. The third objective, that of achieving a harmony of action from a diversity of forces existing in our American democracy was the subject of discussion in the succeeding meetings of the institute.

The ethical basis of such action, according to Rabbi Jacob Singer of Chicago, must be rationalistic, i.e., a combination of Hebraic moral principles and eighteenth century rationalism as opposed to the intultive mysticism of fascist attitudes. Rationalism, at least, carries its own critique of action. Dr. Gordon K. Chalmers, president of Rockford College, advocated the ethics of humanism as interpreted by Erasmus and Sir Thomas Browne, emphasizing the dignity of personality. The moral code of the Bible was stressed by Dr. Carl Christenson of the Saron Lutheran Church, Chicago.

Resisting Fascism and Communism

The relation of the Catholic Church with industry and human relations was admirably presented by Rt. Rev. Monsignor Ryan, director of the department of social action of the National Catholic Welfare Conference. The church is primarily concerned with the salvation of man's soul for eternal life. This is possible only by righteous living which, in turn, is possible only by obedience to the moral law. Hence, labor and all the relations between laborer and employer must be based upon the moral law as set forth by the church.

The means of resisting fascism and communism in America was outlined by Dr. Albert W. Palmer, president of the Chicago Theological Seminary. Terming them both phases of the religion of secular nationalism, he suggested that on the basis of a threefold unanimity of Jews and Christians (a belief in a good God as the ultimate reality, a belief in the separation of church and state, a belief in religion as essential to education) all faiths continue individual work, but collectively emphasize social justice, freedom of inquiry and expression, and the need of religious instruction as a part of general education.

The Press Can Help

The public press as a medium of furthering interreligious, racial and cultural harmony was discussed by Clem Lane, assistant city editor of the *Chicago Daily News*, Rev. John Evans, religious editor of the *Chicago Tribune*, and Donald Breed, publisher of the *Freeport Journal-Standard*. Since tolerance was a basic attitude of both the newspaper and the National Conference of Jews and Christians, Mr. Lane explained that the press can passively support the latter by banning all prejudiced news reports and actively by publicizing the activities of the various Institutes on Human Relations.

At the third evening session, Harold A. Ehrensperger, director of the drama department of the Methodist Episcopal Church, spoke on the theater's function in coordinating ideas and actions. A good dramatist does not offer escape from reality for the audience, but demands a participation by the audience in the problems of love and hate on the stage. Further, when such problems are solved in the light only of contemporary conditions, then the play is propaganda in the lower sense; but when in the light of eternal truths, it is propaganda of the good kind.

The absence in education of that compelling vitality of good drama was considered by Dr. Harry Overstreet of City College, New York, as a serious defect. If education is to preserve democracy, and by that we mean a belief in the right of everyone to

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achieve human greatness and a belief that the freest interplay of human minds alone insures progress, then educators must develop four essential habits in people: (1) mastery of a special field, (2) expectancy of the new, (3) cooperation and not competition with others, and (4) individual judgment.

Economics and Religious Tolerance

Economics and the betterment of human relations was discussed at one of the institute's morning sessions. Prof. Edward Berman, senior economist of the Works Progress Administration, pointed out that the continued unemployment problem even in our present prosperity undermined the entire structure and not only would produce another economic depression, but would hinder any effective amelioration of racial and religious intolerance.

The final session of the institute was conducted by Dean William F. Clarke of the De Paul University Law School and Dr. Albert Buckner Coe of the First Congregational Church, Oak Park. Dean Clarke in setting forth the ideals of American democracy stated that religion, freedom of expression and peace were in reality other terms for democracy.

A very important phase of the Rockford Institute was the forums on youth groups conducted by Dr. Philip L. Seman, general director of the Jewish Peoples Institute, and on parent and adult education led by Mr. Ralph McCallister, director of the Adult Education Council of Chicago, which met jointly with the forum on women's organizations. The first group heard talks by William J. Campbell, Illinois state director of the National Youth Administration, who urged the greater provision of vocational outlets as a way to eliminate intolerance among youth; another talk by Mr. A. S. Irvine, member of the executive board, Chicago Council of Boy Scouts of America, who revealed the importance of this great organization in bettering human relations; and a final talk by Miss Clarice Bowman of the Board of Education, Methodist Episcopal Church, who stressed the role of the adult as best able to understand and help solve problems of youth.

DIXON MCCLOY.

Role of Church Council's Theme

Northfield Conference on Evangelism Hears John S. Whale—Ministers, Laymen and Students Participate

(Special Correspondence)

NORTHFIELD, MASS., June 25.—Over 300 persons, representing laymen, ministers, evangelists, Y workers, college presidents, professors, theologians, educators, missionary workers and church federation secretaries closed here today a five-day "Council on Christian Evangelism for our Day." The council was under the leadership of Dr. John R. Mott and a committee of twelve. The place was reminiscent of Dwight L. Moody, who 100 years ago was born at Northfield and whose life and means were poured into the making of the Northfield institutions.

AN APPEAL
TO CHRISTIANITY
BOYCOTT GERMAN GOODS

To the Protestant and Catholic Clergy and Laity of the United States:

It is now over four years since the Non-Sectarian Anti-Nazi League was organized throughout the United States and in foreign countries, to combat the campaign of racial and religious bigotry, intolerance and persecution in Germany and to assure world peace by the only effective means—the boycott. The League is not Jewish, as has been falsely charged. Its management includes prominent representatives of all creeds and *is truly Non-Sectarian.*

We then pointed out that neither protests nor appeals to the moral sense of the regime now in power would be of the slightest avail; that the problem was not in any sense a Jewish one but that in its ultimate purpose the brutal, godless campaign is *aimed equally at the destruction of all racial and religious freedom,* the repudiation of the Old and New Testaments, and the substitution of a neo-pagan State Church that involves the negation of everything for which Christianity stands.

Unfortunately that prediction has now come to pass, as evidenced by the wholesale imprisonment and crucifixion of the Catholic and Protestant clergy, the annihilation of the Catholic Youth schools, the extermination of the Confessional Synods of the Protestant Churches, and the confiscation of church properties and in many other unmistakable ways. The movement has become so accentuated in its brutal determination at destruction and confiscation that it has become necessary for all sects and creeds, in self-preservation, hurriedly, before it is too late, to band together to rescue the religious liberty of the silenced, oppressed and downtrodden German people against having neo-paganism forced upon them by the State, and against the spread of this destructive blight throughout the world.

There is a swift and sure way, and the only effective way, to check this dread catastrophe. That is by trade resistance through the economic boycott of all German goods and services. Our law renders this practicable by requiring that every article imported into this country shall be plainly marked with the name of the country of origin, so that you may be sure that you and your supporters are not buying German goods under any of the many subterfuges to which resort is being had. To that end the League now has a Bill pending in Congress to "plug" these loopholes in the existing law. The League has also in operation an effective Research Bureau to instruct those who do not wish to buy German goods where substitutes can be had.

Buy American goods. Whenever our manufacturers are not sufficiently protected by tariff laws, cooperate with us to have them strengthened, and bring about a mighty protest against using German goods or patronizing German freight or passenger ships.

To that end you are invited to join our non-sectarian movement and thus to withdraw your support from the Hitler campaign to destroy religion. This you can accomplish by refusing to buy German goods and urging your friends to do the same.

If you and your parishioners desire to enroll in the membership, you and they are invited to do so by signing and mailing coupon below.

I enclose $1.00 for membership in the League, which includes my annual subscription to "The Economic Bulletin."

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It was a conference and not a speaker's platform. Prominent leaders inspired and fertilized the discussions. Such men were present as Principal John S. Whale of Cheshunt College, Cambridge, John R. Mott, George Irving, W. H. Foulkes, John McDowell, Douglas Horton, E. Fay Campbell, Jesse Bader, A. W. Beaven, Clyde Milner, A. J. Muste, William Lloyd Imes, John Mackay, David R. Porter, C. R. Zahniser, and others.

Principal Whale is Chief Speaker

The chief speaker was Dr. John Whale, whose general subject was "What Is A Living Church?" His lectures will be published shortly in book form. A living church, he said, is a believing church, a worshiping church (he said the heart of worship was the sacrament of the Lord's Supper), a witnessing church and a working church. He was enthusiastically received and spent every afternoon in wider discussion and amplification.

The three discussion groups centered around the interests of laymen, students and ministers. The ministers discussed such subjects as the "Clinical Approach to Evangelism" (Zahniser), "Preaching for a Verdict" (Beaven), "What Happens when the Gospel is Preached" (Foulkes), and the "Theology for Evangelism Today" (Mackay). The laymen discussed what was being accomplished in an evangelistic way in various communities and how laymen may be discovered and trained in this important work. The students and their leaders dwelt on the forthcoming college preaching mission of next year, what might be expected of a senior college person in the way of Christian experience and knowledge and what is being done and should be done for students to make them see the implications of Christian decision in the business of living.

The wider implications of evangelism were not neglected. A. J. Muste indicated that evangelism must involve Christianizing the industrial areas; Imes emphasized that it involved the color area; and Mott, that it involves the whole world. Douglas Horton led the morning devotions.

The purpose of the conference was to gather together representative leaders from all Christian groups to face the task of evangelism together at a time of generally rising interest in religion and particularly in the Christian faith. A great deal of emphasis fell upon the importance of the fellowship of the church in the work of evangelism. I think this conference hinted that the old day of a mere isolated personal decision for Christ without the church is dead.

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New Haven Ministers Regret Loss of Davis

Six out of the seven attending a recent meeting of the ministers of New Haven, Conn., approved a resolution regretting the action of Yale University in terminating the contract of Dr. Jerome Davis. The resolution says: "We have interviewed some of the principals and for some months we have considered carefully the testimony and studied the various reports. We are unconvinced that the faculty of the Yale divinity school was uninfluenced by the officers of the university in considering Professor Davis' reappointment. The recommendation of the divinity school faculty for his continuation as an associate professor for a longer tenure was denied by the Yale Corporation. This we affirm as unjust to Professor Davis in view of his 12 years of service in the divinity school and the handicap thus imposed on his future standing as a teacher. It is our conviction that his social views played an important part in his dismissal."

Dr. William H. Hudnut Retires at Youngstown

Dr. William H. Hudnut has relinquished the pulpit of the First Presbyterian Church in Youngstown, O., after filling it for 38 years. Dr. Hudnut was for years a trustee of Wooster College, a director of Western Seminary, and a member of the Presbyterian Board of Foreign Missions. This fall he will deliver a series of lectures on missions at San Francisco Seminary, of which Jesse Baird was recently chosen president.

The New Films

These summaries and evaluations are supplied by the National Film Estimate Service. Estimates are for three groups: A, intelligent adults; Y, youth (15-20 years); C, children (under 15 years).

Behind the Headlines

(Lee Tracy, Diana Gibson) (RKO) Lively, spectacular, sensational newshawk-

What did the Apostles preach?

England's most influential New Testament scholar, CHARLES H. DODD (Professor of Divinity in Cambridge University) answers this question in his new book

The Apostolic Preaching

"The importance of this volume for American liberals can hardly be overestimated," says Clarence T. Craig in a review in The Christian Century. "A generation which has given the primary place to the teaching of Jesus needs a forceful reminder that the apostolic preaching was something very different. A comparison of the sermons in Acts with the Pauline letters, and then with the Gospel of Mark, makes clear that the preaching did not deal with memoirs of Jesus but with the saving facts of God's deliverance . . ."

The New York Times:

"A scholarly attempt to unravel in the varying New Testament writings the strand which may represent the original preaching, and to separate it from the cross-weave of interpretation. The author concludes that the kingdom of God is not Utopia. 'The Gospel does not speak of progress, but of dying and rising again.' "

Charles Clayton Morrison:

"This book seems to be a key to unlock for those of us who are not experts the mysteries of the new criticism which is discarding many of the results of the New Testament criticism which prevailed a generation ago."

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ery, with original touches, capturing would-be hijackers of a government gold shipment to Fort Knox. Hero and heroine are rival reporters and wrangling lovers to the end. Less violence and wisecrack than usual.

For A: Hardly. For Y: Good thriller. For C: Hardly.

A Day at the Races

(Marx Bros., B. O'Sullivan, A. Jones) (MGM) Probably longest, wildest Marx rampage to date, the usual preposterous situations, hysterical slapstick antics, pantomime, vulgarity, "gags" (funny or silly according to taste), interrupted now and then by appealing song and dance sequences.

For A: Depends on taste. For Y: and C: Doubtful.

Girl Loves Boy

(Eric Linden, Cecilia Parker) (Grand Nat'l) Simple, human little story of small town life in horse and buggy days. Rich, shallow playboy, married to gold digger, is extricated from false marriage and reformed by love for fine heroine from proud, impoverished family. Appealing touches of home life.

For A: Fair. For Y: Good. For C: Yes.

Last Train from Madrid

(Gilbert Roland, K. Morley, D. Lamour) (Para) Tense, suspenseful, propagandaless melodrama about assorted characters scheming, lying and killing to obtain coveted pass out of besieged Madrid. Violent, mostly unimpressive, little character value, and with some feeble acting and humor.

For A: Fair of kind. For Y: Doubtful. For C: No.

League of Frightened Men

(Walter Connolly, Lionel Stander) (Columbia) Good detective puzzle, needing no hokum and little violence, with Connolly masterful as super-detective, Stander reasonably funny, and villain beautifully concealed to the end. Well acted by good cast, original plot, and action concentrated on business in hand.

For A: Good of kind. For Y: Good thriller. For C: Mature.

The Man in Blue

(Edward Ellis, Nan Grey) (Univ.) Fine character study by Ellis as honest "cop," trying to save boy of crooked heredity from going wrong in crooked environment. Rest is ordinary melodrama, with crooks made entirely too engaging to be wholesome for youngsters.

For A: Perhaps. For Y: Doubtful. For C: No.

The Nightingale

(Russian, full color, sparse English titles) (Amkino) Simple, convincing realism, well acted, beautiful and grim by turns, of Russian industry as it was under tsars. Obvious propaganda. Marred by slow tempo, overprolonged scenes, and many touches of crudity, naiveté and positive absurdity. Good music and sound.

For A: Novel. For Y and C: Little interest or value.

Wings over Honolulu

(Wendy Barrie, Ray Milland) (Univ.) Pleasant little romance, over-sticky and too playful at times, leads to rich heroine's marriage to poor naval lieutenant. His duties and her loneliness bring not too serious trouble and all ends well. U. S. navy cooperated heavily.

For A: Fair. For Y: Probably good. For C: No.

Best Recent Films for Family:

Maytime — Prince and Pauper
Captains Courageous — Elephant Boy
Penrod and Sam — The Go-Getter

Best Films for Adults:

Beethoven Concerto — Make Way for Tomorrow
Night Must Fall — Under the Red Robe
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